

Vallfogona and the Vall de Sant Joan: a community in the grip of change

Sant Joan de Ripoll and the Evidence

One of the more concentrated bodies of this problematic evidence has been left to us by the monastery of Sant Joan de Ripoll, now known as Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Now a parish church, it is sited in the Ripoll valley, slightly further up the Ter than its sister foundation of Santa Maria.¹ Unlike that house,² Sant Joan has left us a considerable part of its documentation. We know from a sixteenth-century inventory of the archive which is preserved in the first volume of the monastery's Llibre de Canalars that what we now have, either at Sant Joan or for the most part in the Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó in Barcelona, is only about half of what was once there. Despite the losses, partially offset by the *regesta* in the Llibre de Canalars, the ninth- and tenth-century material for the monastery and its immediate environs is plentiful by most standards.

In particular, the monastery's own valley and the neighbouring one of Vallfogona furnish us with just over one hundred and fifty charters between 885 and an arbitrary cut-off point of 1030, and in that sequence concentrated more towards to the early tenth century when the monastery was most active in

¹ There are two short volumes on Sant Joan, J. Masdeu, St. Joan de les Abadesses: resum historic (Vic 1926) and E. Albert i Corp, Les Abadesses de Sant Joan: verificació històrica, Episodis de la Història 69 (Barcelona 1965); both are hard to find and a more modern summary will be found in A. Pladevall i Font, N. Peiris i Pujolar, J.-A. Adell i Gisbert, X. Barral i Altet, R. Bastardes i Parera & R. M. Martín i Ros, "Sant Joan de les Abadesses", in A. Pladevall (ed.), Catalunya Romànica X: el Ripollès, ed. J. Vigué (Barcelona 1987), pp. 354-410. For the early history of the monastery in English, see now J. Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future: Abbess Emma of Sant Joan de les Abadesses" in Early Medieval Europe Vol. 12 (Oxford 2003), pp. 229-258.

² Santa Maria's more extensive historiography is most easily accessed through A. Pladevall i Font, J.-A. Adell i Gisbert & X. Barral i Altet, "Santa Maria de Ripoll", in Pladevall, Catalunya Romànica X, pp. 206-275 & 332-334; the loss of the archive in a fire of 1835 is covered at p. 206.

the land market.³ Moreover, one of these is an almost unparalleled demographic resource,⁴ a record of a hearing over authority in the Vall de Sant Joan in which nearly five hundred separate people swore that that area belonged to the monastery by the gift of its comital founder to his daughter at the point of its settlement.⁵ I have elsewhere shown that this is unlikely to have been true,⁶ but as well as giving these names, the villages as part of which each one signed, and a flock of notable witnesses, the document also gives us the bounds of the monastery's own alod and some idea of its rights therein. Its possibilities for our enquiry are huge.

This sample and its detail allow us to discern with unusual clarity the impact of the young monastery on society. Most of this material was originally preserved by Sant Joan,⁷ which means that the thickness of our evidence varies in proportion to the transaction activity of the monastery, and that in times of

³ The charters are: Cat. Car. II Ripoll I; Cat. Car. IV 6, 119, 120, 156, 346, 441 & 507; Comtal 14, 78 & 81; Condal 3, 4, 12, 14, 15, 18-29, 31, 32, 34-37, 39-46, 48, 50-58, 60-62, 64, 67-69, 71, 74, 75, 77, 79, 82, 84-86, 95, 96, 99, 101, 105, 109-113, 115-117, 119, 122, 124-127, 131-136, 140-142, 144-151, 155-157, 160, 164, 171, 172, 176, 179, 187, 191 & 197; Consagracions 41; HGL II 206; *MH* ap. CLXV; San Juan 20, 21, 24, 25, 40, 47, 51, 58, 59, 69, 77, 91, 96, 98, 105, 127, 134, 140, 167, 171, 186, 188, 189, 199, 227, 238, 253, 254, 267, 271-273, 287 & 289; Sant Joan 5, 12 & 22; Urgell 192; Vic 64, 445, 478, 491, 504, 521 & 628; and VL XIII ap. XVI. Of these, only fourteen, mostly Vic documents referring to les Tenes and Tolosa at the west end of the valley, do not stem from Sant Joan.

⁴ Unparalleled at least since 1835, when what must have been a document of this general scope (*c.* 200 signatories) was burnt in the fire at Santa Maria de Ripoll: its *regesta* are printed as Cat. Car. IV 783, and it is discussed in Chapter 4 below, pp. 242-243. For other parallels, see A. J. Kostó, "Reasons for Assembly in Catalonia and Aragón, 900-1200" in P. S. Barnwell & M. Mostert (edd.), Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages, Studies in the Middle Ages 7 (Turnhout 2003), pp. 133-148, esp. pp. 139-146. I must thank Dr Kostó for kindly supplying me with an offprint of this paper.

⁵ Cat. Car. IV 119.

⁶ Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", pp. 244-248.

⁷ A small amount (Cat. Car. II Ripoll I, *MH* ap. CLXV and some other Cat. Car. IV documents which only touch on the area) hails from the destroyed archive of Santa Maria, but when even the large surviving archive of the cathedral of Vic contributes only seven charters for the area (the Vic documents in n. 3 above) we should not imagine that Santa Maria's survival would have brought us much more. The Sant Joan archive mentions land held by Santa Maria only twice (Condal 3 & 4), those referring to one estate of Count Guifré's which he split between the two houses, and there are very few places apparent from the surviving documents where both houses held land (Balbs being one obvious exception, where Sant Joan is seen in Condal 34, 41 & 101 & San Juan 69, and Santa Maria in Cat. Car. II Ripoll I & II, Cat. Car. IV 16, 685, 783, 791 & X & Oliba 44). Their interests do not seem to have overlapped (even at Balbs their visible property does not adjoin). The single exception is that Santa Maria at least in 951 held a hamlet

poorer documentary survival we should not imagine that all was quiet in the area. We have only documents of interest to the monastery, generated mainly, as we shall see, when the house itself was the cause of tension in the area. At other times we are left to read between the lines of a patchier survival. It is also the case that the monastery's active interests slowly moved beyond this area as it became more firmly established in its hinterland, and even among those documents that survive Vallfogona and the Vall de Sant Joan become a less frequent concern. Rather than attempt to compensate for this and place the valleys in a wider perspective, I have elected to use the strength and weakness of the sample to help study what it certainly does show: the arrival of a large monastic community in a frontier area.

The history of Sant Joan

The early history of the foundation is somewhat obscure, as most of its earliest documents are preserved in copies and have in some cases been subject to alteration.⁸ There seems however to have been a church of Sant Joan de Ripoll by 880, only a year after Count Guifré the Hairy is supposed to have commenced his reoccupation of the county of Osona of which the Ripollès is the uppermost part.⁹ At this stage there is no sign that it was a cloister.¹⁰ This probably came in 885, when Count Guifré is said, albeit by a dubious document, to have endowed the monastery with substantial lands and, according to inter-

called Carcases in the Vall de Sant Joan (Cat. Car. IV 685), which is not mentioned anywhere else at all.

⁸ Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", pp. 233-257.

⁹ R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, La Plana de Vic en els Segles VIII i IX (Barcelona 1948), repr. as "La reconquesta d'una regió interior de Catalunya: la plana de Vic (717-886)" in R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, Dels Visigots als Catalans, ed. J. Sobrequés i Callicó, *Estudis i Documents XIII-XIV* (Barcelona 1969; 1974), I pp. 309-321.

¹⁰ VL VIII ap. I is a donation to the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, and its abbot Daguí, and also the

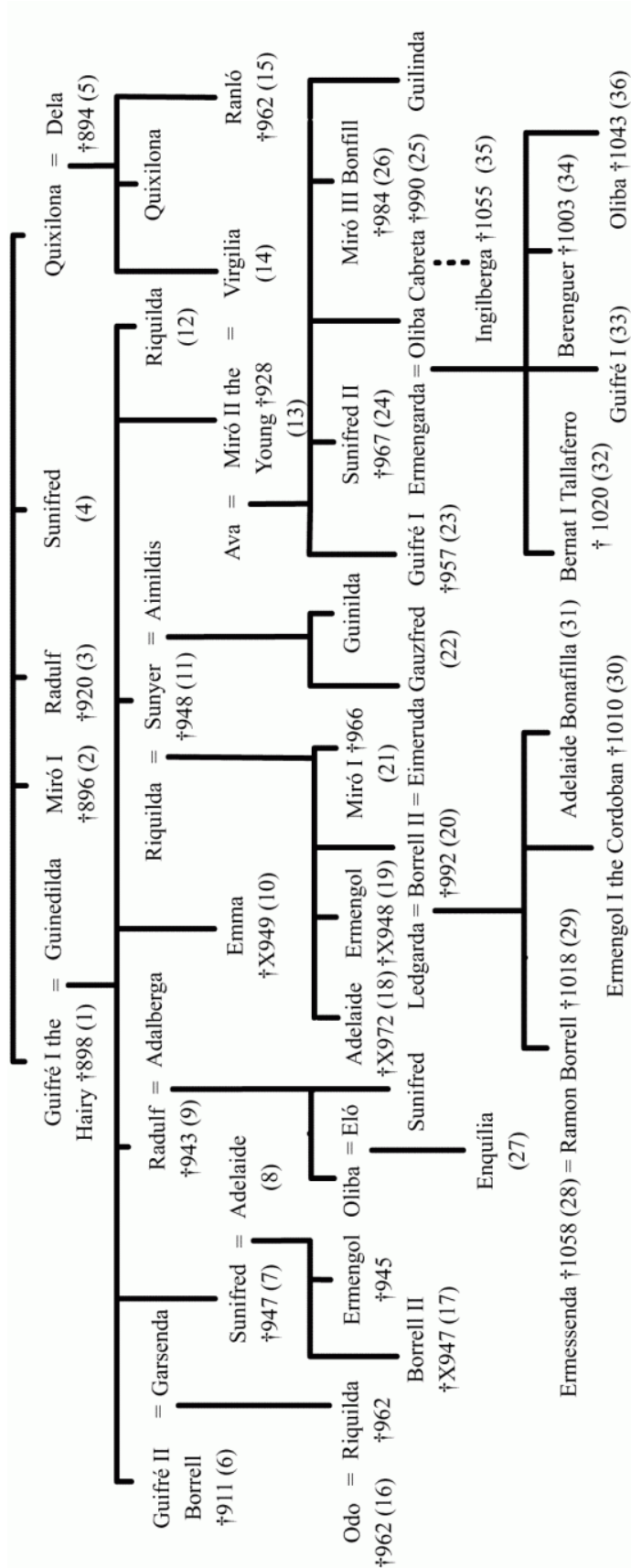


Figure 1. Family tree of the Counts of Catalonia and their offspring

- (1) Count of Urgell and Cerdanya 870, Barcelona & Osona 878, Girona 894 & Conflent 896; 2nd cousin of Delà of Girona. (2) Count of Conflent 870 & Roussillon 878. (3) Count of Besalú 878. (4) Bishop of Arles. (5) Count of Girona 878; 2nd cousin of Guifré the Hairy. (6) Marquis of Barcelona, Girona & Osona 898. (7) Count of Urgell 898 & perhaps Besalú 920. (8) Abbess of Sant Joan 949-X956. (9) Monk of Santa Maria 885-904, Bishop of Urgell 914. (10) Abbess of Sant Joan X898 (11) Marquis of Barcelona, Girona & Osona 911 & of Tarragona 936, monk of La Grasse 947. (12) Perhaps nun at Sant Joan. (13) Count of Cerdanya (& Conflent?) 898, perhaps of Besalú 920. (14) Concubine. (15) Abbess of Sant Joan X956. (16) Viscount of Narbonne 919, from whom subsequent viscounts of Narbonne. (17) Count of Urgell ?945. (18) Abbess of Sant Pere de les Puellas 945 (19) Count of Osona X936. (20) Count of Girona X945, of Urgell 947, Marquis of Barcelona & Osona (& Tarragona -956?) 948. (21) Marquis of Barcelona, Girona & Osona (& Tarragona -956?) 948. (22) Count of Manresa? c. 986. (23) Count of Besalú 928. (24) Count of Cerdanya 928 & Besalú 957. (25) Count of Cerdanya 928, Marquis of Besalú 984, monk at Monte Cassino 990. (26) Count of Besalú 957, Bishop of Girona 971. (27) Nun at Sant Joan 955. (28) Dowager Countess of Barcelona, Girona & Osona 1018-1041, Countess of Girona 1043-1057. (29) Marquis of Barcelona, Girona and Osona 993, from whom subsequent Marquises of Barcelona. (30) Count of Urgell 993, from whom subsequent counts of Urgell. (31) Abbess of Sant Pere de les Puellas X986. (32) Marquis of Besalú 988, from whom subsequent counts of Besalú & only bishop of Besalú. (33) Count of Cerdanya 988. (34) Bishop of Elna X1000. (35) Last Abbess of Sant Joan 996-1017. (36) Count of Ripoll 990-1003X1004, monk of Santa Maria 1004, Abbot there & Sant Miquel de Cuixà 1017, Bishop of Osona 1018.

polations, oblating there his daughter Emma, matching his gift of his son Radulf to Santa Maria.¹¹ We first see Emma acting on her own account in 898,¹² and in 899 she obtained a precept from King Charles the Simple granting her monastery immunity and royal protection.¹³ Then, in 905 and 906, she obtained similar guarantees from two successive synods at Barcelona and Agde.¹⁴ By this time she had already taken at least one landowner to court for the monastery's rights,¹⁵ and embarked on a long series of purchases in the areas surrounding the monastery. Emma's rule seems to have been forceful and effective and at her death, whose date is obscure,¹⁶ the monastery was dominant in its locality and its property spread over a wide area further afield.¹⁷

After her death, however, the monastery seems to have become a victim of deepening divisions in the comital family, with whose founder's land occupation and purchases it had been endowed and by a member of whom it had been ruled. Emma's career shows co-operation with her brothers (and possibly sister),¹⁸ with the single exception of the hearing over the Vall de Sant

¹¹ Condal 3 & 4; Udina gives both interpolated and non-interpolated versions but even the latter have some traces of alteration: see Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", pp. 237-241.

¹² Condal 10.

¹³ Condal 11.

¹⁴ Cat. Car. IV 69 & 75.

¹⁵ Condal 35. More were to follow.

¹⁶ Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", pp. 253-257.

¹⁷ See A. Vadillo Pinilla, "El Dominio de San Juan de las Abadesas: algunas consecuencias de su formación" in M. A. Ladero Quesada (ed.), *En la España Medieval IV: estudios dedicados al Profesor D. Angel Ferrari Núñez Tomo II* (Madrid 1984), pp. 1019-1045, although note my reservations about some of his hypotheses at n. 108 & pp. 118-119 below.

¹⁸ Martin Aurell, in the 'Annexe prosopographique' to his "Jalons pour une enquête sur les stratégies matrimoniales des comtes catalans (IX^e-XI^e s.)" in F. Udina i Martorell (ed.), *Symposium Internacional sobre els Orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII-XI)* (Barcelona 1991-1992), 2 vols, also published as *Memorias de le Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* Vols 23 & 24 (Barcelona 1991, 1992), I pp. 281-364 at p. 313, No. 15, suggests that Riquilda, who is seen joining the community in Condal 12, was Emma's sister.

Joan, in which the loser was her brother Miró, Count of Cerdanya and Besalú.¹⁹ Whether or not she and Miró were genuinely opposed at this point, they were reconciled by the time Miró died, for Emma is named as executor in terms of affection in his will.²⁰

Twenty years later, however, it was said that their younger brother Sunyer, who had succeeded elder brother Guifré II Borrell as Marquis of Barcelona, Girona and Osona in 911, had attempted to emplace his own candidate as abbess on Emma's death, "an unsuitable woman as later became clear",²¹ and there are indications that the monastery lost considerable lands at this time. These lands seem as often as not to have wound up in the hands of the comital family, especially the young sons of Count Miró, the branch of the family which would rule Besalú and Cerdanya until 1111 and 1117 respectively.²² Esteve Albert suggested that it was Sunyer's plan to move Sant Joan from the independent micro-county between Besalú and Osona which Emma's various immunities and exemptions had effectively created, into Osona proper and thus his county.²³ This is implied by the alternative presented by the chosen abbess who eventually, by agreement between Sunyer's eldest surviving son Borrell II and Miró's second son Count Sunifred of Cerdanya, replaced Sunyer's nominee. This was the dowager Countess Adelaide, widow of Count

¹⁹ Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120.

²⁰ Condes pp. 88-90: "... *dilectissima soror mea...* ".

²¹ Condal 128: "... *non aptam quod postea claruit...* ".

²² Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", pp. 255-256. This branch of the family seems to have made gains generally on the border with the Barcelona branch at about this time, which effectively annexed the Ripollès to Besalú. This has not, as far as I can tell, been studied; on the later triumph of the Barcelona line under Marquis Ramon Berenguer II of Barcelona, however, see A. J. Kosto *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: power, order and the written word, 1000-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4th Series 51 (Cambridge 2001), pp. 223-224.

²³ Albert, *Abadesses*, pp. 22-23.

Sunifred II of Urgell. But if Sunyer's plan had been jurisdictional the ambitions of the counts of Besalú were more simply territorial. Whether Emma had been adequately able to defend her rights, or whether her independence had been respected as part of the family endeavour of resettling and controlling the new frontier, her successors were not so free of hand.²⁴ In 1017, with the house under Emma's fourth successor, Ingilberga, this situation came to a head when her half-cousin Count Bernat I Tallaferro of Besalú, with a considerable gathering of the great and good of Catalonia, denounced her and her nuns before Pope Benedict VIII as "whores of Venus" and obtained the dissolution of the nunnery. This was immediately followed by the combination of its temporalities with those of the church of SS Miquel & Genis de Besalú in a new bishopric of Besalú in the hands of Bernat's son Guillem, who thus became first Abbot of Sant Joan which now began a new life as a canonry.²⁵ Its history thereafter was extremely vexed, including reformation by Saint-Victor de Marseille, rebellion against the French house by the ousted canons and the establishment of an Augustinian canonry, but this takes us out of our period.²⁶

It is notable however that Sant Joan's erstwhile nuns seem to have remained

²⁴ Her immediate successors, after Adelaide, who seems to have stepped down very soon after her nomination (she is seen acting as Countess with no mention of her monastic title in Condal 130), were Ranoló, the daughter of a sister of Guifré the Hairy and Count Delà of Girona and thus second cousin once removed to the young counts, and Fredeburga, who alone of the abbesses of Sant Joan has no detectable connection to the comital family. On Ranoló, see J. Marqués Casanovas, "Domna Ranolón, ilustre dama gerundense de mil años atrás" in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* Vol. 15 (Girona 1962), pp. 317-329. On Fredeburga, see Albert, *Abadesses*, pp. 39-42.

²⁵ Ingilberga is believed to have been daughter of an illicit liaison between Count Oliba Cabreta (son of Miró of Cerdanya), and the wife of Ermemir Vicar of Besora, who had children by both men: on this and the whole episode see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *L'Abat Oliba, Bisbe de Vic, i la seva Època*, 3rd edn. (Barcelona 1962), repr. as "L'abat Oliba i la seva època" in *idem, Dels Visigots als Catalans*, II pp. 141-277, at pp. 190-200 in the reprint, and Albert, *Abadesses*, pp. 43-51. The creation of the bishopric is printed as Oliba 10, and Pope Benedict's condemnation as Oliba 49. The phrase it uses is "*meretrices Veneri*", though the supposed words of Benedict give the impression that he would have liked to hear the other side of the story; he emphasises his initial disbelief and encourages any nuns who felt that they had been unjustly condemned to come to Rome and be heard.

²⁶ See Masdeu, *Sant Joan*, pp. 21-71, and Pladevall *et al.*, "Sant Joan de les Abadesses", pp. 357-373.

closely associated with the house, retaining in some cases the title of “*deo vota*”,²⁷ and that the name Sant Joan de les Abadesses is first used of the house not long after.

Preservation and redaction

This history of course affects the record. In the most immediate sense, our sources are affected by the location in which they were preserved. The eventual transformation of the monastery into a parish church and its desuetude even from that rôle saw its records moved for the most part to the Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó, which was probably just as well given that the church was sacked and its archivist killed in the Civil War in 1936.²⁸ Earlier on, the take-over by Saint-Victor ensured that the monastery’s most important documents were moved there, and for the most part lost, though some still remain in Saint-Victor’s cartulary.²⁹ But it is not just preservation that was affected by these developments, but production. The thickest documentation is from the years of Emma’s adult rule, from around 898 to around 942, with slight fluctuations which may be down to survival as much as anything. This is not to say that her successors were less active—Ranló’s short career saw four churches consecrated in parishes the house controlled³⁰—but that their activity

²⁷ For example Elo, seen clearly as a member of the congregation in R. Ordeig i Mata, “Ató, bisbe i arquebisbe de Vic (957-971), antic arxiprest-ardiaca de Girona” in *Studia Vicensia* Vol. 1 (Vic 1989), pp. 61-97, ap. 26 & Condal 128 & 163, is also seen post-dissolution in Comtal 62, 117 & 187 & Sant Joan 29, in Comtal 187 as a neighbour of Sant Joan and “*deo vota*” even though this document is from 1028.

²⁸ The archivist was Masdeu, author of Sant Joan; on his unfortunate end and the history of the archive generally, see M. S. Gros i Pujol, “L’arxiu del monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses: notícies històriques i regesta dels documents dels anys 995-1115” in E. Fort i Cogul (ed.), II Col·loqui d’Història del Monaquisme Català, Sant Joan de les Abadesses 1970, Vol. II, *Scriptorium Populeti* 9 (Poblet 1974), pp. 87-128 at pp. 87-97, the sack at p. 95.

²⁹ E. g. B. Guérard (ed.), Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille (Paris 1857), 2 vols, II no. 1039, which is Cat. Car. IV 69 & 75.

³⁰ Sant Hilari de Vidrà, Sant Bartomeu de Llaés, Sant Julià de Vallfogona and Sant Pere de Sora, in

was less transaction-based. Of Emma's monastic discipline, her personal observance and her friendships we can say almost nothing, but we can say something about the quality of her impact on the community even from exclusively land-concerned sources, and also note changes in this interaction under her successors.

This is not to say that the documentation consists of an institutional monolith produced to Emma's personal order. A brief look at the scribes of Sant Joan's archive shows quite otherwise.³¹ Sant Joan's nuns are called "*ancillae Dei*" in early sources, and even King Charles the Simple made no mention of a Rule in his immunity for the house (which calls the nuns "*sanctemoniales*"). The nuns themselves when they appear are almost always called "*deo votae*" or "*deo dicatae*", ambiguous terms current in Spanish religious life at this time.³² Exactly what observance the house may have been under is therefore unclear, but it seems to have had a staff of male clergy also. These were not just priests, though several are clearly associated with the monastery, but also clerics of lower grades whose whole career can be seen in Sant Joan's documents.³³ Many of these people appeared as scribes of Sant Joan charters, most notably the

Condal 146-149.

³¹ See F. Udina Martorell's thorough palaeographical study, El Archivo Condal de Barcelona en los Siglos IX-X: estudio crítico de sus fondos, Textos 18/Publicaciones de le Sección de Barcelona 15 (Madrid 1951), pp. 13-26 & Laminas I-XII.

³² M. Cabré i Pairet, "*«Deodicatae» y «Deovotae»*. La Regulación de la Religiosidad Femenina en los Condados Catalanes, siglos IX-XI" in A. Muñoz Fernández (ed.), Las Mujeres en el Cristianismo Medieval: imágenes, teóricas y cauces de actuación religiosa, Colección Laya 5 (Madrid 1989), pp. 169-182, esp. pp. 177-178.

³³ For example Geldemir, seen in Condal 54, 55, 67, 69, 72, 73, 75, 76, 95, 113 & 116: the first of these shows him in 918 as "*clericus*", by 921 he was scribing (he wrote Condal 69, 72, 76 & 95) and a subdeacon; by 923 (Condal 75) he was a deacon, and by 930 (Condal 95) a priest, after which he tended to be called Gelmir by his contemporaries. Another example is Boso, seen in Condal 54, 56, 62, 65, 67, 69, possibly 72 and 73, 75 & possibly 78, at first as a subdeacon in 918, a deacon between 919 and 920 and eventually perhaps as a priest in 924, though there is a risk of confusion with the priest of the same name seen as scribe in Condal 52, 57, 79 & 82: Udina says his hand is different (Archivo Condal, pp. 192-193). This one wrote Condal 62, 65 & 75.

priest Gentiles.³⁴ Others appear only as characters in the monastery's own history, but through that can be told something of their own.

The Area of Study

For this study I have considered documents from those areas which are said in the charters to be in the Vall de Sant Joan or the term of Vallfogona ("*valle fecunda*"). This is not simply equivalent to the modern valley of the Riu de Vallfogona; not only do some areas so identified stand well outside that area, for example Balbs, which stands further from Vallfogona than does Santa Maria de Ripoll.³⁵ Fafila, which stands between Balbs and Vallfogona, is on the other hand only ever seen in the Vall de Ripoll, and many areas which we know from other documents were in Vallfogona were sometimes stated to be in the Vall de Ripoll without further determination. Sant Joan itself was sometimes so located.³⁶ Vallfogona nonetheless stands out in many documents. It was, it seems, a prosperous area by local standards, though prices were low here by comparison with other parts of the March.³⁷ There were mills and several sorts of agriculture, with a notable concentration of arable, implying that the land here was good enough for this highest-value exploitation,³⁸ an active land-

³⁴ See Chapter 1 above, pp. 30-31.

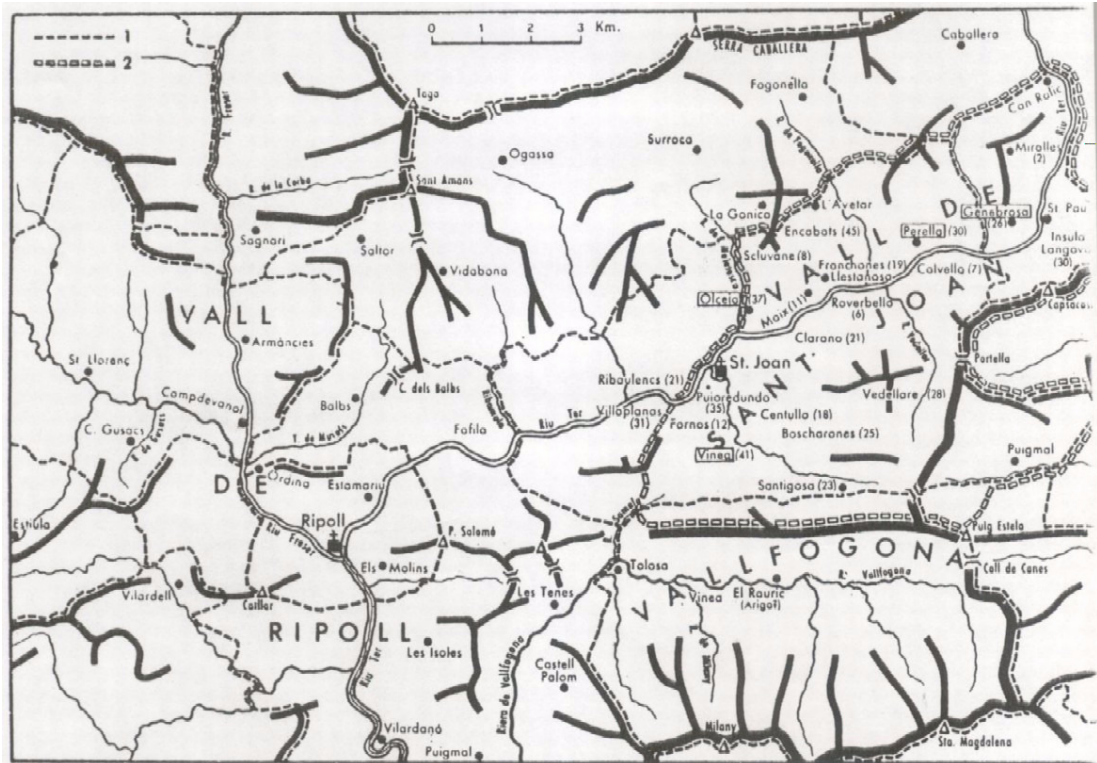
³⁵ See n. 7 above. Condal 34 locates its land "*in valle Riopullense, in locum ubi dicitur ad Vallefecunda, infra terminio de ipsa villa, que nominant Balbos*".

³⁶ For example by Charles the Simple in Condal 11, but also in many local documents.

³⁷ P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du Milieu du X^e Siècle à la Fin du XI^e Siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse 1975-1976), 2 vols, II p. 900.

³⁸ Mills in Condal 52 & 57 (perhaps the same one); as well as two settlements called la Vinya (see n. 43 below), vineyard transferred in Condal 52; fields ("*campos*") in Condal 21, 36, 61 and others; land measured in *sesteradas*, implying use for cereals (C. Du Fresne Du Cange (ed.), *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, re-ed. L. Favre (Paris 1938), Vol. VII, p. 463 *sub* "*sexterada*") in Condal 26, 53 and others, "*terra culta*" in Condal 29, 50, 60 and others; orchard ("*orto*") in Condal 37; meadow ("*prato*") in Condal 52. On the contemporary worth of arable over viticulture or pastoral farming, see Pagès, "Marc Històric", pp. 58-59 and diagram there, although cf. C. Arbués & J. Oliver, "Vinyes que ja no hi són. Per una arqueològia agrària del domini feudal del treball pagès: les vinyes de Sorre, Montardit (el Pallars Sobirà) i Musser (la Cerdanya)" in I. Ollich i Castanyer (ed.), *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert*

market and numerous streets and roads.³⁹ The way the monastery interacted with and accessed this wealth is one of the themes which we can study with this evidence.



Map 2. The valleys of Ripoll⁴⁰

I have considered for this chapter, as well as Vallfogona and the Vall de Sant Joan itself, any document which mentions a Vallfogona settlement as a boundary, so that the fringe of the area is partially ‘counted in’. The result is that the sample cannot be easily circumscribed on Map 2 above; loosely, however, it corresponds to Vallfogona from les Tenes to Coll de Canes, and the

d’Orlhac i el seu Temps: Catalunya i Europa a la Fi del 1r Mil·lenni, Vic-Ripoll, 10-13 de Novembre de 1999 (Vic 1999), pp. 321-337.

³⁹ Condal 71, 84 & 86 all mention public roads, which implies something a bit more structured than might be meant by the commonly-occurring “*strata*”; the public road in question may have been that studied by Jordi Bolòs i Masclans in his “Camí de Vallfogona” in Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica X*, pp. 449-450, a mercantile route that ran through the valley, perhaps explaining the concentration of independent capital there. See more generally another paper of Bolòs’s, “Aportacions al Coneixement de les Vies de Comunicació” in Udina, *Symposium Internacional*, I pp. 409-436.

⁴⁰ Orig. from R. d’Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els primers comtes catalans*, *Biografies Catalanes: sèrie històrica 1*

Vall de Sant Joan as delimited by Abadal (with a dotted white line), but extending north to the Serra de Caballera. Inside this area are 52 further locations of lands as given in our charters, some as vague as the rivers or ridges which score out the area,⁴¹ and some much more specific, either settlements or geographical features. Of these some are still existent and locatable and some unidentifiable; they may have been overwritten by newer settlements, have changed names or have simply faded out. The variation in development of these settlements must have been affected mostly by factors outside our ken, such as agricultural and indeed dynastic success or failure, political sympathies and economic factors, long after our period. Such developments are however visible even in the time of the nunnery, and a few examples of settlement development will enable us to see not just this but help to explain why certain areas retained Sant Joan's documentary focus and others did not.

Examples of village development

La Vinya de Vallfogona

La Vinya de Vallfogona lay at the confluence of the Riu de Milany with the Riu de Vallfogona.⁴² Of the 39 charters we have relating to the settlement, 14 are purchases by Abbess Emma, and at least one more does not survive.⁴³ Of

(Barcelona 1958; 1980), *inter* pp. 106-107.

⁴¹ Riu de Milany (Condal 57, 99, 105, 125, 132, 144, 146-148, 157, 176 & 197), Riu de Vallfogona (Condal 43, 52, 67, 157, 164 & 176 & Oliba 81); Serra de Vallfogona or Serra de Sant Joan (Condal 3, 4 & 86).

⁴² Condal 43 & 176 deal with lands which stand on opposite sides of the Milany but the same side of the Vallfogona.

⁴³ Vinya de Vallfogona (not to be confused with the settlement of the same name inside the Vall de Sant Joan, seen in Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 & Condal 4) seen in Condal 14, 18, 20, 22, 26-28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 39, 42, 43, 45, 46, 51, 52, 54, 61, 64, 79, 82, 85, 86, 105, 111, 119, 122, 125, 142, 145, 155, 164, 171, 172, 176, 179 & 191 & San Juan 47, 77, & 254. Of these Condal 18, 20, 26-28, 31, 32, 36, 45, 46, 64, 79 & 111 are the surviving purchases of Emma, and San Juan 47 is the lost one.

these 14, all but the last come from a period from 905 to 923, and the first ten from 905 to 914: this is to say that Emma's activity there faded as time went on, and that our focus is clearest in this first decade than at any point thereafter. Our picture of the settlement is thereby distorted.

Nonetheless, in that collection we see several people recur again and again. Holding land here we see one Duran, who appears in seven charters preserved by Sant Joan,⁴⁴ with his wife Deudata who goes on appearing long after him,⁴⁵ and who identifies herself as the daughter of a man called Arigo. This latter is also seen in la Vinya,⁴⁶ which is interesting as in his daughter's last appearance he is said to have given his name to another settlement, *Arigo*. This suggests that he was possessed of considerable means, but that la Vinya was not his main focus. Another founder, Centoll, responsible for Centullo in the Vall de Sant Joan, is also seen here, just the once.⁴⁷ Likewise, an important man by the name of Eldoard, on whom more below, held land here, but his largest donation was not in this area but further up the valley near Coll de Canes.⁴⁸ He and his wife Margarita had their land in la Vinya from their parents, though this may mean it had come to Eldoard from his wife.

It seems then that these men, who were notable in early Vallfogona, were not based in la Vinya but had interests there. Below their level we see, for

⁴⁴ Condal 14, 18, 26-28, 32 & 45; also in Cat. Car. IV 346, which despite its being a donation to Emma is preserved (rather less than more) in Barcelona and does not seem to have come from either the monastery or comital archive. Of these documents, all except Condal 14, 27 & 28 are transactions passing land to Emma.

⁴⁵ She appears in Cat. Car. IV 346, Condal 14, 26, 32, 45 & 109.

⁴⁶ He is mentioned in Condal 14, 18, 44 & 109.

⁴⁷ Cat. Car. IV 119 lists Centoll as the first signatory for Centullo, and the implication seems too obvious to resist; nonetheless he appears in la Vinya and in *Arigo* before this.

⁴⁸ He appears in Condal 15, 27, 28, 36, 42, 52, 57, 61, 79, 86 & 111, of which 27, 28, 42 & 52 are donations in la Vinya, 28 & 52 both including several homesteads. On the other hand, 57, bordering Coll

example, one Placià and his children,⁴⁹ giving together in la Vinya to Sant Joan which suggests that his core heritable lands lay there, though he also appears elsewhere. Below him we see one Pere, appearing only three times,⁵⁰ and after him all the appearances are individual ones. Though the charter evidence cannot be showing us all the people in the area, it seems that as Emma commenced her campaign of purchase in the settlement, which was backed by significant donations from the locally influential, they nonetheless only held interests in the area from afar. This may explain why Emma chose it: it was tangential to the interests of those who might be challenged by the monastery's intrusion into the area.

Emma's interest seems to have been rapidly satisfied however, as said, and though the residents or landowners here continued to donate to Sant Joan after this, it is only with the activities of Petró, a priest with considerable spending power, from 958 to his death in 995,⁵¹ that the area again becomes a focus of our evidence. This, as with Duran and Deudata, is not because of an active Sant Joan interest in the area but solely because Petró's campaign of acquisition eventually finished up with the house. In this dossier (seven charters for land in la Vinya, from 958 to 984), however, not one of the purchases was of land next to the monastery's, and no other identifiably major figures recur in them either. This suggests that despite Emma's early determination and subsequent donations, Sant Joan's impact on la Vinya was

de Canes, spans most of the valley's width: see below, p. 122.

⁴⁹ He is seen in Condal 14, 15, 18, 22, 28 & 46; in 18 & 46 he appears *en famille*.

⁵⁰ He himself only appears in Condal 14 & 18, but Condal 26 mentions land referred to there as his sons'.

⁵¹ He is seen in Condal 140, 142, 154, 171, 172, 176, 179, 191 & 197; his will is Comtal 14. Of these, Condal 142, 171, 172, 176, 179 & 191 are la Vinya purchases, and Comtal 14 grants all his purchases to Sant Joan, presumably ensuring their preservation there as well.

far from large, and that whatever had in the early stages of the valley's development made it attractive for the powerful to hold land there had now been surpassed or superseded.

Arigo

We do not know how old a settlement la Vinya was. With that named after Arigo, we can at least guess. He appears in four Sant Joan charters,⁵² but in two of these posthumously, as either the origin of the *villa*'s name or as the previous owner of the land concerned.⁵³ This allows us to say that he died between 910 and 914, and suggest therefore that the *villa* (which first appears to us in 909) was then probably no more than thirty years old.⁵⁴ This means that the foundation was most likely carried out during the time of Abbess Emma. Nonetheless, she did not own the settlement, as we first see it when she bought land from two of its residents.⁵⁵ They had their land partly through *aprisio*, a process of occupying waste land under a fiscal title,⁵⁶ and partly through purchase, but whether this made them original settlers or later arrivals we cannot tell. They were in any case not subject to the sort of jurisdiction Emma

⁵² See n. 46 above.

⁵³ Condal 44 & 109 respectively.

⁵⁴ The village is mentioned in Condal 24, 37, 44, 60, 62, 109, 110, 116, 126, 127 & 141.

⁵⁵ Condal 24.

⁵⁶ This would, to some scholars, mean that they had held it for thirty years as per the Visigothic Law; see A. Udina i Abelló, "L'aprisió i el problema de repoblament" in Udina, *Symposium Internacional*, II pp. 159-170 at pp. 162-163. The relevant part of the Visigothic Law is Book X, Title 2, most readily accessible in the translation of S. P. Scott, *The Visigothic Code (Forum Iudicum)* (Boston 1910; 1922), online at <http://libro.uca.edu/vcode/visigoths.htm>, last modified 16th August 2000 as of 23rd July 2005. I think that the link between the thirty-year rule and *aprisio*, first and tentatively made by Auguste Dupont ("L'aprision et le régime aprisionnaire dans le midi de la France (fin du VIII^e—début du X^e siècle)" in *Le Moyen Âge* Vol. 71, 4th Series Vol. 20 (Bruxelles 1965), pp. 179-213 & 385-399, at pp. 192-193), is illusory and based largely on an apparent reference to the rule in Cat. Car. II Particulars II. This is uncertain and may reflect only an actual length of time in possession, and the reference to *aprisio* appears to be an additional, not a consequent, description of the tenure of the settlers in question.

could claim over such settlement elsewhere.⁵⁷ The next land Emma bought there, nearby,⁵⁸ had come to the sellers and their children by purchase, and was one of at least three plots they held there, as they themselves were named as neighbours twice. This was in 913: next, in 914, reoccurs our first pair of donors, Desiderí and Bero, but this is also the charter which tells us that Arigo himself was now dead.⁵⁹ We therefore never see him in his own settlement, but with only two charters dealing with adjacent lands from which to do so, this is unsurprising.

Although the place was statedly Arigo's, presumably in the sense that he was the orchestrator of its settlement, others were seemingly free to dispose of land there which they had acquired, either by purchase or simply by moving in. Desiderí's and Bero's second sale to Emma was also land held by *aprisio*, and a grant of 942 from the area said of the land it transferred, "for... our mother... Grima held it by *aprisio*, which that woman cleared from the waste with us her... sons, the first men on the royal land under the sway of the Franks", which is as codified a summary of the claims involved in *aprisio* as may easily be found, and clearly implies independent tenure in the name of the king.⁶⁰ There were many other holders by *aprisio* in the village besides these. While Arigo may have had the resources to establish himself in a dominant fashion in this area, there is thus no sign that those also arriving in the village owed him service or

⁵⁷ See below, pp. 102-107.

⁵⁸ Condal 37: both this and Condal 24 name one Oderic as neighbour.

⁵⁹ Condal 44: "*in invidem villa que dicitur Arego, conda, qui fuit.*"

⁶⁰ Condal 116: "*quod illa eam tenebat genetrice nostra supradicta Grima de aprisione, que illa traxit de heremo cum nos supradictos filios suos, primi homines terre regia sub ditione franchorum*". On the usage "*primi homines*" see J. M. Salrach, "Défrichement et croissance agricole dans la Septimanie et le Nord-Est de la péninsule ibérique" in La Croissance Agricole du Haut Moyen Âge: chronologie, modalités, géographie. Dixième Journées Internationales d'Histoire, 9, 10, 11, Septembre 1988, Flaran 10

required his permission to alienate their land. He himself meanwhile appears to have had interests in la Vinya, but we only know that he held land in *Arigo* itself because his daughter Deudada sold some of it to Sant Joan in 937.⁶¹ Our immediate picture is therefore of a small hamlet with a few long-established people but also still room for new settlers; but with so few charters we should not know if it were any larger.

One suggestion that the place may in fact have been more important is that it seems to have been adjacent to Vallfogona's first church. This is an obscure foundation, largely because of the locals' habit of referring to it in their documents simply as 'the church', "*ipsa ecclesia*": presumably no further specification was felt necessary.⁶² In 960 Abbess Ranló had the diocesan Bishop Ató of Osona consecrate a church of Sant Julià there, which she is said to have built. It was given a parish which ran from Coll de Canes between the ridges west to Castell Palom and the river Archamala, which really must have included *Arigo* and *ipsa ecclesia*, but there is no mention of a previous church.⁶³ Further confusion is added by a reference in the first volume of the fifteenth-century Llibre de Canalars, the documentary inventory compiled by Abbot Isalguer, to a charter which recorded a donation of 904 to Sant Julià, but Isalguer probably assumed that *ipsa ecclesia*, clearly from context the church of Vallfogona, meant Sant Julià and recorded it as such.⁶⁴ Whether or not this church was an earlier incarnation of Sant Julià, it does seem to have been in

(Auch 1990), pp. 133-151 at pp. 138-141; more generally, Dupont, "L'aprision".

⁶¹ Condal 109.

⁶² Condal 62, 84 & 140.

⁶³ Condal 148.

⁶⁴ San Juan 20.

Arigo: the first mention of it is as a boundary of land there being sold to Emma,⁶⁵ and in the second although the church itself is the location, three of the neighbours named also appear as neighbours in Deudada's donation of her father Arigo's lands in his village.⁶⁶ The third tells us no more, though one of its witnesses, Asner, may be the man named as a neighbour in an *Arigo* charter of 949.⁶⁷

The problem is that we do not know where *Arigo* actually was, though Abadal suggested that el Rauric, near la Vinya, may be its modern form.⁶⁸ This was probably because the modern Sant Julià de Vallfogona, which is twelfth-century as it stands,⁶⁹ is located more or less at el Rauric.⁷⁰ The 919 charter which places *ipsa ecclesia* on an *Arigo* border tells us that a river ran through it,⁷¹ and an earlier one suggests that it partly lay alongside the "alod of the house of Sant Joan the monastery"⁷² which suggests that it was close to the Serra de Vallfogona, up to which that alod seems to have run. The second mention of *ipsa ecclesia* refers to the "public street that leads everywhere".⁷³ This is likely to have been the Camí de Vallfogona,⁷⁴ but as that runs or ran more or less alongside the Riu de Vallfogona, this still gives us the length of the valley to move in.

⁶⁵ Condal 62.

⁶⁶ Condal 84.

⁶⁷ Condal 127, the third charter here being Condal 140. Asner probably also appears in Condal 105 & 126.

⁶⁸ See his map reproduced as Map 2 above, where the suggestion is made without further explanation.

⁶⁹ M. Anglada i Bayès, A. Pladevall i Font, M. Lluïsa Cases, J. Vigué i Viñas, J.-A. Adell i Gisbert & N. Peiris i Pujolar, "Sant Julià de Vallfogona" in Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica X*, pp. 445-448, at p. 447.

⁷⁰ Compare the map in Pagès, "Marc històric", p. 26 with that of Abadal, also reproduced by Pagès, *ibid.* p. 20.

⁷¹ Condal 62.

⁷² Condal 60: "*de tercia parte afrontat ipso alode de domum sancti Iohannis monasterii*".

The key is the church. This, while suggesting that *Arigo* was presumably either a centre of some size, or the focal point of the valley, or both, does not seem to have been Arigo's own work or his fellow villagers'. The evidence is a reference in that charter which names the church as an *Arigo* boundary.⁷⁵ Here the document, which is written in the voice of the sellers and address to Emma as buyer, refers to the church as "*ipsa vestra ecclesia*" (my emphasis), 'that church of yours'. If the grammar has not slipped, there are two possibilities. Either the sellers, a couple called Leutard and Adalburga who are also the sellers in the later document that mentions the public street near *ipsa ecclesia*, thought that Emma owned the church of Vallfogona, or the scribe, the subdeacon Boso who seems to have been a member of Sant Joan's in-house clergy,⁷⁶ did. This might then suggest that she had established it. This makes it likely that Ranló's foundation of Sant Julià in 960 was merely a refoundation of an earlier church; the monastery already had this rôle in the area.

Moreover, once Sant Julià was consecrated, we hear no more of the village of *Arigo*: its last appearance is in 958.⁷⁷ Sant Julià appears in one subsequent donation in our period, where one of its bounds is said to be on the land of the house of Sant Joan,⁷⁸ and one of its witnesses bears the same name as a man holding land in *Arigo* in two earlier charters.⁷⁹ This all implies that Abadal's silent equation was correct.

⁷³ Condal 84: "*ipsa strata publica qui pergit ubique*".

⁷⁴ See n. 39 above.

⁷⁵ Condal 62.

⁷⁶ See n. 33 above.

⁷⁷ Condal 141.

⁷⁸ Condal 151.

⁷⁹ Condal 126 and 127: the man is Sendred.

This seems to tell a tale of an independent settler of some means starting a village, which was populated by similarly pioneering people but without any evident ties of lordship or community. At some early point (before 904 if the Llibre de Canalars may be trusted) he or they got Abbess Emma to found a church there for them, and she also cemented her ties to the area by buying land there extensively, so that by the time she died she was almost always named as a neighbour in transactions there and often more than once.⁸⁰ The monastery remained a centre for local donations after Emma's death and Ranló's refoundation probably indicates that the monastery held the initiative in community endeavours there. So much was this the case that the founder's memory was replaced by a new identity centred on the monastery's foundation Sant Julià, and the village's nature was thus completely changed over the course of half a century.

Puiovultiaro

By way of contrast to this difficult story, let me present as the final example a simpler one. The settlement of Puiovultiaro appears in two charters only, one being the record of the Vall de Sant Joan hearing, where it is named among the western boundaries of the area there adjudicated to Emma. It is thus on the fringe of our zone of interest, and seems to have been to the north of les Tenes, between there and the river Ter.⁸¹ It cannot have been very far north of les Tenes, as the second charter places land here on the river Vallfogona, and though we have only this one document from which anything may be said

⁸⁰ Purchases by Emma in *Arigo*: Condal 24, 37, 60, 62, 84 if the location of *ipsa ecclesia* be accepted, & 109, that is all but two of the documents from there from her lifetime, and one of those two (Condal 110) was a donation to Sant Joan.

about landholding in the place, its content is instructive. The charter is a sale to Abbess Emma, of five-and-a-half pieces of land, held by *aprisio* or purchase, by one Adalard and his wife Quinló, which was recorded with another sale to Emma by different people of land in Besora and a third by another woman in Sora.⁸² There appears to be no connection between the grants, or the sellers, and given that five of the six witnesses are clerics,⁸³ including the Sant Joan 'chief scribe' Gentiles and two others who were probably Sant Joan priests,⁸⁴ and that the scribe was the Sant Joan cleric Boso, now a deacon,⁸⁵ I think we may safely guess that the three gatherings were held at the monastery at the same time and that their apparent connection is a false impression. The land at Puiovultiaro seems to have been wild, two boundaries being on "the rock" and three on forest, and not everything Adalard and Quinló sold was under cultivation. Was this an exploitation which had failed, a pioneer effort run out of resources? There is the ghost of an answer in the document.

If each of Adalard's pieces of land had four bounds, as did those which were explicitly counted out, only six out of twenty-four bounds are accounted for with natural features like rocks, forest and river. One neighbour appears once, a man called Livano, but all the remaining notional seventeen bounds were on the land of a man named Aimeric. Clearly Aimeric's position in

⁸¹ Cat. Car. IV 119.

⁸² Condal 67.

⁸³ The sixth witness was one Hugubald, who also appears in Condal 73, 78 & 110; the former two are major gatherings at which Emma was present, in Muntarn and Llaés respectively, and in the last he is seen as a neighbour in *Arigo*; I suspect therefore we may see him as a local man who briefly became some sort of retainer to Emma, to be likened to the agents of the monastery whom I identify below, at pp. 139-143.

⁸⁴ Petró, not the later large-scale purchaser but an earlier priest of the same name also seen in Condal 40, 45, 66, 73, 102, 105 & 113, and Malanaico, also seen in Condal 74, 86, 87, 102, 103 & 113.

⁸⁵ See n. 33 above.

Puiovultiaro was predominant. I suspect therefore that Emma was given her route into Puiovultiaro by a settler who due to the intransigence of the local bigwig was unable to make his investment worth the tending and who came to Sant Joan and accepted the best price Emma would give him for the rule of this land.⁸⁶ This offers a 'third way' to compare to the way that the monastery may have been invited into *Arigo* and to Emma's aggressive purchasing in la Vinya. Sant Joan's and Emma's policies and strategies were not monolithic and institutionalised; these operations by which the monastery extended its holdings and its influence were as opportunistic as they were planned, and were in places, it seems, desired by those who fell under its control.

Differing Zones of Settlement: the Vall de Sant Joan

While the situation in each of these villages was different, in the realm of land tenure they were not dissimilar. A few large-scale proprietors did not prevent other smaller-scale pioneers from taking in new land and buying themselves holdings, and though with each such apparent small-scale pioneer we may, given the evidence's nature, be looking at a person with much larger holdings invisible in the documents, this seems unlikely to be true every time. The people we can see are of course those with access to the land market, and even where a person like Pere in la Vinya only appears as a neighbour, we cannot be sure that he is simply not recorded through happenstance or choosing not to deal with the monastery. It seems likely, for example, based on the similar competition of the monasteries of Lorsch and Fulda in the Middle

⁸⁶ One would like to know whether Adalard then stayed on his land with new protection, or if Emma merely took over control of any remaining cultivators there. We cannot tell, of course; the settlement never reappears.

Rhineland,⁸⁷ that some people might have chosen instead to favour Santa Maria de Ripoll, in which case the fire of 1835 removed the evidence. Some of the people we see must be small landowners: it is simply that in very few cases if any can we be individually sure of this.

One instance in which we can break through this false floor in our evidence is provided by the hearing over the Vall de Sant Joan. Its mass of detail needs a separate exposition, but before embarking on it I shall say that it appears to me from this document that the mode of tenure in the lands next to the monastery was rather different from that of the pioneer zones over the Serra. Here, we seem to see something much more like a monastic reserve, albeit one apparently staffed by men and women who owed specific services but were not tied in the way that serfs might have been. We can also see people both joining and leaving this group, presumably in search of social or economic betterment.⁸⁸ What follows may demonstrate this and other characteristics of society in the area.

“Hoc est iudicio”: the hearing of 913

Emma’s forcefulness is conveyed mostly in the records of hearings at which she took someone to court for her rights. The documents tell us of six

⁸⁷ M. Innes, State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: the middle Rhine valley 400-1000, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4th Series 47 (Cambridge 2000), pp. 13-34.

⁸⁸ Serfdom is a term which really belongs to a later period, when society was more interested in providing it with a meaning than it was at this time. Contrast the clear and somewhat idealistic picture of Bonnassie, best expressed in “Survie et extinction du régime esclavagiste dans l’occident du haut moyen âge (IV-XI s.)” in Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale Vol. 28 (Poitiers 1985), pp. 307-343, transl. J. Birrell as “The Survival and Extinction of the System of Slavery in the Early Medieval West, fourth to eleventh centuries” in Bonnassie, From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe (Cambridge 1991), pp. 1-59, with the more nuanced study of Paul Freedman, The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Catalonia, Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies (Cambridge 1991), esp. pp. 1-18 & 56-88; finally, observe the depth of disagreement between various eminent scholars of rural history in G. Duby (presiding), “Table ronde” in La Croissance Agricole, pp. 181-203.

hearings, and of these five were small-scale affairs.⁸⁹ Emma claimed rights over or the ultimate ownership of the land in question and (as we would expect in documents which survive) was awarded her due by the attendant judges and *boni homines*.⁹⁰ The other occasion, the Vall de Sant Joan hearing described above, was of a rather different order.

The content of the acts

The two surviving documents of the hearing are the sworn oath made by those Emma called on to support her case, and the consequent evacuation or quitclaim by her brother's representative of the rights his master claimed over the lands.⁹¹ We are therefore probably missing some parts of the record of the case,⁹² but in fact the document of the oath and the evacuation allow us to understand clearly what was at issue, and one could surmise the whole of the case, if not the successful outcome, from the oath document, as is expressed by

⁸⁹ The five small hearings are seen in Condal 16, 35 & 53 and San Juan 14 & 58.

⁹⁰ This latter is a difficult term to define, clearly meaning something like 'worthy men', and seen in many areas of Frankish Europe. What made a person a *bonus homo* is terribly unclear. Local status clearly played a part, but may have been essentially subjective since it seems that persons usually given this status, such as those in Condal 35 for example, could be squeezed out of the record by the presence of higher-status persons such as attended Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120. What defined this 'height of status' is unclear; but I attempt to guess in a few cases below. For local usage of the term, see J. M. Font i Rius, "La comunitat local o veïnal" in Udina, Symposium Internacional, I pp. 491-576 at pp. 546-560.

⁹¹ Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 respectively; however, one also needs the detailed palaeographical discussion and indications of Udina's earlier edition of the former, at Archivo Condal pp. 157-165 as Condal 38. Udina misdated this document by one month, seemingly because this brings it to the feast of St John the Baptist, and thus disassociated its proceedings from those of Cat. Car. IV 120, which he also edited from a transcript as Condal ap. II A (Ordeig's edition is from the original or a closely contemporary copy). The acts have also been studied in detail by Gaspar Feliu i Montfort, who gives references to earlier work, in two articles, "Sant Joan de les Abadesses i el repoblament del Vallès" in Miscel·lània Fort i Cogul. Història Monàstica Catalana. Història del Camp de Tarragona (Montserrat 1984), pp. 129-135, and "Sant Joan de les Abadesses: algunes precisions sobre l'acta judicial del 913 i el poblament de la vall" in S. Claramunt & M. T. Ferrer i Mallol (edd.), Homenatge a la Memòria del Prof. Dr. Emilio Sáez. Aplecs d'estudis del seus Deixebles i Col·laboradors (Barcelona 1989), pp. 421-434. My debt to the latter paper will be obvious by citation, but I must also thank Professor Feliu for providing me with an offprint of the former, which I would not otherwise have managed to obtain.

⁹² Following the pattern described in R. Collins, "Visigothic Law and Regional Diversity in Disputes in Early Medieval Spain" in W. Davies & P. Fouracre (edd.), The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe (Cambridge 1986), pp. 85-104, repr. in Collins, Law, Culture and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain (Aldershot 1992), VI.

the eleventh-century dorsal note, *"hoc est iudicio"*. The three factors that make this case remarkable are firstly that the area concerned, as is made clear from the bounds given in the oath, included the monastery itself;⁹³ secondly that Emma's opponent in the court was her brother, Count Miró of Cerdanya and Besalú, who was in attendance with their younger brother Sunyer the Marquis of Barcelona, Osona and Girona, contesting what appear to have been fiscal rights;⁹⁴ and that thirdly and most interestingly for our purposes, the 493 separate villagers from the area concerned whose testimony Emma brought.⁹⁵ This formidable body of testimony was recorded on a single huge piece of parchment and seems, understandably, to have swung the case judgement in Emma's favour.⁹⁶

The context of the acts

Close study of the acts suggests that Emma and her brother were not in truth opposed at this hearing, but aiming to publicly affirm the house's independence from comital power, which was by the hearing effectively placed in Emma's hands. To legitimise this, the two siblings appealed to an almost legendary version of the monastery's foundation by Count Guifré, expressed as follows:

⁹³ See Map 2 above; Abadal marked the area concerned with an intermittent white line.

⁹⁴ Cat. Car. IV 120: "... *servicium regis minus... id est, hostes vel alium regale servicium...*".

⁹⁵ I count 493: Abadal, in his La Plana de Vic, counted 476, and Feliu, in his "Sant Joan de les Abadesses: algunes precisions", counts 510 (as does Kosto, "Reasons for Assembly", p. 140, possibly following Feliu). The difference will lie, if not in simple error, difficult to avoid with so large a body of similar names and the possibility of eye-skip, in which names we consider to be repetitions and which changes from the initial oath to the signatures, which as I go on to discuss, do not precisely match.

⁹⁶ A photograph, much reduced, of the parchment, is to be found in Pladevall *et al.*, "Sant Joan de les Abadesses", p. 363; Udina's text is also given there. Cf. Salrach, "Défrichement", pp. 137 & 146 & n. 27, who appears to consider that it was the monastery's actual lands which were at issue, rather than comital rights over them.

“...the late most glorious Count Guifré, of blessed memory, rebuilt and ordered to be dedicated [the monastery]... and he invested the already-said Abbess Emma, his daughter, with it through the voice of the king in the honour of the already-said Saint John the Baptist so that all the men whom she or her successors should establish to live so as to perform service thence in the already-said valley should do so to the already-said Emma, abbess, or her nuns [*sanctemoniales*] or her successors...”⁹⁷

It is very unlikely that the settlement of the valley was in fact carried out in such a way; even in 880, for example, only a year after the resettlement of Osona is generally supposed to have begun, there was apparently enough of a population to support not just Sant Joan de Ripoll in its valley, but the monastery of Santa Maria and what would later be, and may already have been, the co-located parish church of Sant Pere de Ripoll only a few miles away from Sant Joan.⁹⁸ There is also the fact that the earliest version of the act of consecration of Sant Joan, supposedly from 887,⁹⁹ already mentions four of the twenty-three villages concerned in the 913 hearing (la Vinya, Olceia, Perella and Genebrosa),¹⁰⁰ but transfers only their tithes; in a later version, this was changed to grant Sant Joan the tithes of “these churches which are described within the endowment”.¹⁰¹ Additionally, these villages are not included in the gifts of Count Guifré, all of which are, let it be noted, said to have come to the count not through *aprisio* but through purchase.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Cat. Car. IV 119.

⁹⁸ VL VIII ap. I. On Sant Pere, see A. Pladevall i Font, J.-A. Adell i Gisbert, R. Bastardes i Parera & J. Bracons i Clapés, “Sant Pere de Ripoll” in Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica X*, pp. 335-343.

⁹⁹ See Jarrett, “Power over Past and Future”, pp. 240-241.

¹⁰⁰ Condal 4 (the former of the texts there given): “*decimas et primicias de villare que nuncupant Vinea de suo apendicio* [from context, the ‘*apendicium*’ of the “*domum sancti Iohannis Bapliste*”] *et de villare Genebrosa et de villare Perella et de Olceia*”.

¹⁰¹ Condal 4 (the latter version): “*decimas et primicias... de has æcclesias que intra dote resonant*”.

¹⁰² These gifts are ‘repeated’ in the supposedly prior but clearly related act of endowment of the house, given in its two basic versions as Condal 3, the older text being the latter of the two given. The Vall de

This is not to say that the picture Abadal gave of the monastery as a motor of immigrant settlement, land clearance and development on the frontier is entirely false: it is clear from not just the monastery's own endowment,¹⁰³ but also the proportion of tenure by *aprisio*, that settlement and clearance was indeed going on at some rate. Nonetheless, it is clear that the area was not a complete desert and that the arrival of the monastery as an active participant in the process changed not only the way that settlement here was remembered, but also the way it was organised and carried out. To get at the specifics of this, however, we need to make the 913 hearing yield more data than it has so far been made to do, and this requires a detailed study.

The document itself and its redaction

This document betrays at least four stages of redaction and edition. The initial key to this argument lies in the differences between the names given as swearers of the oath, and those given as signatories. Of the former there are, by my count, 474, and were probably another five where the manuscript is now defective. Of the latter, however, there are 498, and moreover not all of these occurrences match; some of the 498 are not the people who occur in parallel positions in the list of those swearing. This discrepancy appears worse than it is, as the orthography of the first list is often a poor reflection of the names given in the signatures; nonetheless, there are seven people in the list of those swearing who do not recur in the signatures (not including those where the

Sant Joan itself and its settlements are not mentioned in this act.

¹⁰³ Both versions of the grants of tithes cited above (nn. 100 & 101) continue: "*seu deinceps [in isto apendiciolin illorum appendicionibus erunt] ut aliquod homines extirpare aut excolere potuerint aut siquis maius in illorum loca hedificaverint decimas et primicias trado et concedo ad predicto monasterio.*" The variants are the older and later versions respectively.

name probably does occur but is illegible),¹⁰⁴ and on the other hand thirty who sign but are not recorded as swearing.¹⁰⁵ The orthographical differences here (for example, the people who appear for Clerano signing "*Sg̃t̃ Aione. Sg̃ Razel*" being rendered as "*Aiora..zel*" in the oath,¹⁰⁶ or "*Brucelo*" from Puioiredondo appearing as "*Livolo*") are however clear indications that the scribe was working from a text. Even if one might have misheard 'Brucel lo' as 'Livolo' (how?), surely "*Aiora..zel*" is the two names of the signatures mistakenly run together. Still clearer is "*Imitara*" who is said to have sworn for Ribaulencs. The name in the signatures is "*Marcia*". The explanation is that she was the second Marcia to sign for the village; therefore what we see in the oath is almost certainly a mistaken reading of "*item Marcia*", which is surely only likely to have occurred in a written, Latin, context. I think we can therefore conclude that the scribe who wrote the first text onto this parchment, whose name is given as "*Gaersias, presbiter*",¹⁰⁷ was working from written lists of inhabitants of the villages in question.

This makes the discrepancy between the oath's names and those given in the signatures all the more surprising, however, as these signatures were also

¹⁰⁴ Sesnanda, Ennegó, Levegot, Audegarí and Andorosa from Scluvane; Teuderic from Ribaulencs and Ervey from la Vinya.

¹⁰⁵ Fedança in the group who earlier swore for Perella; one illegible name among those of Franchones; another among those of Olceia; Lebetruda, Bonfred and Trusca among those of Scluvane; Noven and Arifons among those of la Vinya; Eilo among those of Boscarons; Romelda among those of Santigosa; Galí among those of Clerano; Bonau, Odolina, Desiderí, Bonafilla, Genís, Bona, Durabiles and Madrona between the groups who swore for Clerano and for Vedellare; Riquilda and Loba among those of Villaplans; and Randulf, Adalburga, Gomesind, Durabiles, Albaro, Elda, Sendevad, Ostau, Livano, Athanagild, Guisalec and Traseric after the witnesses.

¹⁰⁶ I follow Condal 38 here, as Ordeig has corrected this in his text (*Catalunya Carolíngia IV* Pt. 1, p. 159 n. 3).

¹⁰⁷ No scribe of this name occurs in any other document from the area which I have been able to discover. He is also not the scribe who is named in the evacuation of the Count's mandatory Oliba, for that was Gentiles, who appears in the earlier document as a witness and thus cannot be the man meant by the signature. I suggest an explanation for the appearance of Garsies here below, pp. 115-117.

written by Garsies. His source for the second batch of names must therefore have been rather better than that for the first. It is unlikely that this time the signatories were actually present and severally told him what to write, because they were, saving losses and additions as described, organised into exactly the same order as that in which their names had originally been listed, which is difficult to imagine in a real ceremony. It would also be strange that those among them whom we know **could** do so did not sign their own names.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps a better explanation is that the people who had written Garsies's original lists were now present and could tell him what they said. This implies that the 498 signatories need not necessarily have been present, though with a panel of 39 people including two counts, two viscounts, seven judges and nine priests, as well as some *boni homines* of non-local status, the gathering would still have been unusually large and prestigious.¹⁰⁹ In either case, it seems that the document, while begun some time earlier, was filled in either soon before the hearing or actually at it. Some indication of the interval between these

¹⁰⁸ We have the signature of Esclúa, presumed founder of the village of Schluvane for which he led the list of oath-takers, in Condal 58 and perhaps Condal 51. He appears otherwise in Condal 35, 42, 51, 53, 58, 64 & 113, including as Emma's representative-at-law on two occasions (35 & 53); on him see also pp. 139-140 below. His identification is controversial, as Vadillo has suggested that he was the intrusive Bishop of Urgell of this name, on whom see R.-H. Bautier, "La prétendue dissidence de l'épiscopat catalan et le faux concile de «Portus» de 887-890" in *Bulletin Philologique et Historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 1961 (Paris 1963), pp. 477-498 & J. Morera Sabater, "Un conato de secesión eclesiástica en la Marca Hispánica en el siglo IX" in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* Vol. 15 (Girona 1962), pp. 293-315. Vadillo's suggestion, made at pp. 1023-1024 & 1030-1031 of his "Dominio de San Juan", cannot stand. The key is one charter of a century later (Cat. Car. IV 1526), which is extremely dubious (see Chapter 4, pp. 246 n. 155). The Esclúa it mentions had heirs in the time of Count Guifré the Hairy, that is before 898. In the execution of the Bishop's will in 924, however, he is seen with only his brother as heir, so this is perhaps unlikely (Urgell ap. 6). Furthermore, Emma's mandatory, our Esclúa, was still alive in 938, and had been operating in the monastery's area since 913, while the deposed bishop had retired to the church of Sant Martí d'Empúries to serve his erstwhile patron Count Sunyer of Empúries (see Morera, "Secesión", pp. 305-310). The less difficult Reinoard, who led the oath-takers of la Vinya, is seen signing in Condal 35, 51 & 55 to name but three, although there are also several others, including an appearance as *saió* in Condal 53, where he did not sign his own name. He otherwise appears in Condal 28, 40, 41, 46, 50, 58, 71, 75 & 86. On him see pp. 139-140 below.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Kosto, "Reasons for Assembly", pp. 139-140.

stages may come from the fact that in it thirty new people had arrived in the area, and moreover seven people had apparently left it, although whether by emigration or death of course we cannot say.

With the oath and signatures written, either shortly before or actually at the hearing, the witnesses signed. This must have taken place at the gathering, as unlike the signatories these men signed their own names. Many of them were those named at the opening of the document, but not all; this also suggests that in the time which had elapsed between the initial redaction of the document and the hearing, arrangements had changed and those originally expected to be present had not all been able to attend.

The redaction of the document was not over yet, however, as between the autograph signatures of the witnesses Garsies added five more names. Whether these should be seen as further witnesses or new settlers is unclear, but this must have been a third stage of redaction. The extra names must be posterior to the witnesses' signatures, as they interleave them rather than the other way about, and they must therefore also post-date the recording of the oath-takers. Some of the new additions, among the established settlers, seem to reflect some attempt to keep the document current by adding the names of new arrivals wherever space might be found. Support for this theory is to be derived from the fact that there are also six more names added in a different ink, yet another update. There is no trace of further changes after this fourth stage: perhaps there was simply not enough space on the already-crammed parchment.

A suggested sequence for the development of this document would then

be as follows. It was begun from notes of the names of the oath-takers and perhaps those then present at the swearing, shaped at a later point into a fine document by Garsies, which was then finished at a second stage, with help deciphering the names, either shortly before or at the hearing at which the witnesses by this time available signed their own names. If it was before the hearing that this was done, the first update may have been carried out at the hearing. If not, there was an update soon after the hearing,¹¹⁰ but in either case another one thereafter, after which the document was finally allowed to rest. Whether the updates were regular, and the document updated as part of an occasion, we cannot know, though it would have made a good ceremony as new settlers were sworn to respect Emma's rights. What is clear is a complex set of changes among the population of the Vall de Sant Joan, and I will attempt to explain these in part below.

Zones of settlement

There are twenty-one settlements named in the oath, and the evacuation supplies another list of twenty-one, of which two are different.¹¹¹ Feliu suggested that some of the places in the valley had two names,¹¹² but I suspect that the answer lies in the intervals between the stages of redaction of the documents. In any case, we have twenty-one settlements whose populations are set out for us. There is some disagreement here over how much of the

¹¹⁰ It was most likely within the year, as Athanagild, one of the names added among the witnesses' signatures by Garsies, can probably be identified with a man seen in other Sant Joan documents (Condal 23 & 46), and he last appears otherwise in 914.

¹¹¹ Cat. Car. IV 120 deals with Scluvane, Ribaulencs, Forns, Puioredondo, la Vinya, Centullo, Boscarons, Santigosa, Villaplanes, Vedellare, Roverbell, Clarano, Isla de Longovard, Genebrosa, Vil·lar de Bero, Perella, Encabats, Moix, Franchones and *Ocega*. Assuming that the last is Cat. Car. IV 119's Olceia, that document nevertheless also names Calvello and Miralles and does not name Vil·lar de Bero.

¹¹² "Sant Joan de les Abadesses: algunes precisions", p. 423.

population was being included: both Abadal and Feliu, keen for various reasons to show the magnitude of the repopulation endeavour,¹¹³ argue that the names in the documents are only those of heads of houses and that the real population must have been two or three times what is seen here.¹¹⁴ The unusual inclusion of so large a number of women and the rate of settlement that this implies make me think rather that an attempt was genuinely being made here to include everyone, and that what we see here is something close to the whole effective population of the valley. This gives a mean population of twenty-three people per village, which does not seem improbable, though one place listed (Miralles) had only two, and la Vinya and Encabats had forty-one and forty-five respectively. Among these people, a very few were notable enough to occur in other documents:¹¹⁵ Reinoard, of la Vinya, and Esclúa, presumable founder of Scluvane, both appear working for Emma in later documents.¹¹⁶ Other village founders can be detected: Centoll of Centullo and Longovard of Isla de Longovard (probably dead before 913), but not Rodebald of Ribaulencs.¹¹⁷ If however we look for notables from the surrounding area among the names from the Vall de Sant Joan, one draws a significant blank.¹¹⁸ Indeed, one often

¹¹³ Abadal out of enthusiasm for Count Guifré and his works, as far as can be told; Feliu because he believes that the immigration here was fuelled by a population overflow in nearby Vallès. This theory, set out in his “Sant Joan de les Abadesses i el repoblament del Vallès”, is based on arguments of the equivalence of personal names, and thus stands or falls as one accepts or refuses his suggested identifications. Conscious that many of my own theories rely on no stronger evidence, I would not wish to rule out a Vallès origin for some of the settlers in the Vall de Sant Joan, but I believe that others had a more local origin. See however *contra* Salrach, “Défrichement”, p. 148.

¹¹⁴ Feliu, “Sant Joan de les Abadesses: algunes precisions”, pp. 423-424.

¹¹⁵ Given the vastness of the hearing, one should expect almost any name from another source to be paralleled here; the reverse not being true is however more significant.

¹¹⁶ See n. 108 above.

¹¹⁷ Centoll also appears in Condal 14 & 28 and signs at the head of his village in Cat. Car. IV 119, and Longovard appears in Condal 15, 29 & 43, but the last of these, from 914, is a gift for his soul by his now-widow Emaliverca; this may make his non-appearance in Cat. Car. IV 119 less significant than Feliu suggests (“Sant Joan de les Abadesses: algunes precisions”, pp. 422-423).

finds that the notable in question was instead on the panel at the hearing and cannot therefore be any of his homonyms who took the oath.

Such a one is Miró, owner of a very common name but from the area of his appearances reasonably identifiable as a landholder in la Vinya and *Arigo*, our twin concentrations of notable landholding in Vallfogona.¹¹⁹ He was one of the witnesses at the hearing, but there was also a *bonus homo* of the same name listed as present;¹²⁰ this may be the same man who is named as a witness to Count Guifré's endowment of the monastery and to its consecration,¹²¹ and thus owe his apparently higher status to a connection to the comital family. In any case, neither of the men listed as present watching the oath can be either of those of the same name who took it, for Encabats and Ribaulencs respectively; with this accepted, one has to consider whether the man of witness status with land in our two élite landholding centres in Vallfogona is more likely to have been on the witnessing or the oath-swearing side of the 913 proceedings.

Miró (either of them) is not the only such example. Also seen in la Vinya de Vallfogona as a witness is one Froilà;¹²² the same choice between witness and settler (in la Vinya de la Vall de Sant Joan) faces us for him at the hearing, and as before it seems simpler to suppose that the man of status was the same in both cases. Lastly, of several more that could be cited, let us note a man called Radulf, appearing as a witness in la Vinya de Vallfogona on two occasions;¹²³

¹¹⁸ Duran, Placià, Eldoard and Arigo, mentioned above, all fail to appear; so too does Salomó, seen in Condal 14, 21, 23, 24, 35 & 53, in five locations in Vallfogona.

¹¹⁹ He appears (I believe) in Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 & Condal 36, 37, 39, 54, 77, 86, 99 & 115.

¹²⁰ On this title, see n. 90 above.

¹²¹ Condal 3 & 4.

¹²² He appears in Condal 28 and may be the son of Placià named in Condal 18.

¹²³ Condal 18 & 22.

while a man of this name or close to it (Randulf) is noted among the newer settlers in the oath document, there is also a *bonus homo* of the same name present, and it seems, again, more plausible to identify the witness as the *bonus homo* than the settler.

With each one of these examples the evidence seems to grow stronger for the conclusion that the population of the Vall de Sant Joan were of lower status than those we see in documents from outside. Reinforcing this impression is that areas **inside** the Vall de Sant Joan very rarely appear after this date in land transactions. Villaplanes makes one appearance, in 921,¹²⁴ when it is said to be in "*terra sancti iohannis*"; it is interesting that Emma appears as a neighbour, suggesting that some of those who worked the land in the monastery's alod were of insufficient status to warrant naming themselves. The land in question was being sold to Emma,¹²⁵ so this island of independence is only visible to us as it disappears: how many more there may have been, we cannot tell, nor how long they lasted.¹²⁶ Scluvane appears to be mentioned as a boundary of the bishopric of Vic in a papal Bull setting these boundaries forth in 978, though the possibility of another eponymous foundation cannot be ruled out; this is not however a transaction.¹²⁷ Other than this, the only areas inside the bounds given in the oath that occur in documents after the Vall de Sant Joan hearing are

¹²⁴ Condal 68.

¹²⁵ By one Baldemar, possibly seen again in Vallfogona in Condal 97 but not in the Vall de Sant Joan hearing; possibly he was either a newer settler even than are recorded in the hearing charter, or the son or son-in-law of one of those there listed. His wife, Eldovara, associated in the sale, is also lacking from the hearing, but may be a transactor in la Vinya de Vallfogona in Condal 31.

¹²⁶ Feliu, "Sant Joan de les Abadesses: algunes precisions" pp. 422-423, believes that there were several, but his examples (notably Caballera, see below & n. 131), do not support the case as well they could.

¹²⁷ Vic 445.

Boscarons,¹²⁸ Genebrosa¹²⁹ and Isla de Longovard.¹³⁰ These places are united by one common factor, which is that in their later appearances they are part of a different term. Boscarons is clearly identified in later documents as part of Caballera, to the north of the Vall de Sant Joan and explicitly excepted from the oath in 913.¹³¹ Genebrosa appears by 1000 to have slipped into the term of Segúries,¹³² to the east of the Vall de Sant Joan and an area in which Sant Joan also had substantial interests, but still not the Vall de Sant Joan.¹³³ Lastly, Cases de Longovard, as it became, seems to have fallen into Llaés, again to the east.¹³⁴ What we are seeing here therefore is peripheral areas which somehow or other escaped the transactional black hole of the "*alodes sancti iohannis*".¹³⁵ Land remaining in this area was no longer for sale.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, those on this land seem rarely to have taken part in land transfers, and for the most part do not reappear in our record. I think we are justified here in saying that these people were small peasants without the resources to earn themselves a place in the record, who having been exposed to us by this one unusual occasion are lost to view hereafter. This need not mean that they were bound to the land; the only services to which we know they were subject are those which Emma won from Miró, which look like public burdens, and in a few cases it seems that people

¹²⁸ In Condal 58, 95, 146 & San Juan 91, 186, 188, 189, 199 & 238.

¹²⁹ Condal 149 & Sant Joan 5.

¹³⁰ As "*casas de longovardo*" in Condal 132 & 147 & Sant Joan 22.

¹³¹ Probably for reasons not unconnected with the fact that the deacon Miró, future count of Besalú was able to give the village in its entirety to Sant Joan in 959's San Juan 238 (at which point Boscarons was one of the borders used to delimit it), that is to say that this was comital land and reserved as such.

¹³² Sant Joan 5.

¹³³ The term is also the site of San Juan 5, 12, 19, 27, 29, 39, 46, 50, 55, 56, 68, 82-88, 114, 130, 131, 146, 149 & 153-155, none of which survive.

¹³⁴ See n. 130 above.

did in fact buy out of the valley.¹³⁶ On the other hand, in 961 the scribe Quintilà, a Vallfogona man whose unusual spelling and ‘barbarous’ script suggest he may not have been a Sant Joan cleric but a local trained elsewhere,¹³⁷ could describe the area and its inhabitants as “*terra sancti Giovanni et suos servientes*”.¹³⁸ This was something rather different from the pioneer zone of land-selling alodists immediately over the ridge to the south, Vallfogona. To the north of the ridge, the monastery was all-powerful, and we may suspect that those who appear to have been powerful there were the monastery’s men, like Emma’s mandatory Esclúa, or Reinoard who was briefly *saió*, a post which presumably collected revenues for the local fiscal representative, which would here presumably have been none other than the Abbess.¹³⁹ Who, it is now time to ask, was powerful to the south?

Power in Vallfogona

Before Sant Joan

Sant Joan did not arrive on empty land, even if Emma was able to have it written that half a thousand people had so sworn in 913. This being accepted, we may wonder if there were any forms of community organisation present before the arrival of the monastery and comital authority, and in fact the source material from after that arrival does hold some hints to the existence of

¹³⁵ The phrase first appears, to mean the term of the monastery itself, in 927 (Condal 86).

¹³⁶ See below, pp. 136-137.

¹³⁷ He wrote Condal 142, 145, 151 & 155 and never appears outside Vallfogona (also seen there in Condal 154 & 156). His script is discussed by Udina in Archivo Condal, pp. 321-322, though most soundly condemned for its illformedness at p. 309.

¹³⁸ Condal 151.

¹³⁹ Seen as such in Condal 53.

something before.¹⁴⁰

The most interesting and perplexing example of this is that presented by one of the judges at the Vall de Sant Joan hearing. His name, as given, was “*Centurius filius Centurii*”, ‘Centurion son of Centurion’. Only one Centurion occurs before this in our corpus, in Tona in Manresa, at the consecration of the castle’s church in 888.¹⁴¹ If this was the father implied by our Centurion’s patronymic, our Centurion was presumably the elder son, as at the consecration a priest by the name of Albaro also claims Centurion as his father in their mutual gift to the new church.¹⁴²

We seem then to have a hereditary name derived from a Roman military rank. In the post-Visigothic society which was presumably left here after the wave of the Muslim occupation had ebbed, we might indeed expect the survival of some secular authority structures, though it is hard to know what they would have been.¹⁴³ Here a rare use of a patronymic, which seems to make the name hereditary and the scribe keen to emphasise this, as if the father’s possession of the name added legitimacy to the son’s presence, suggest that

¹⁴⁰ Vadillo, in his “Dominio de San Juan”, pp. 1022-1025, sees the situation rather differently than do I. I question his citation of Caballera as a clear instance of an independent settlers’ community (see n. 131 above), and his understanding of the castle of Mogrony as a local centre of pre-existent authority which he takes as exemplary of a network of independent castles (see Jarrett, “Power over Past and Future”, pp. 240-241 & n. 56), and take up some of his identifications in more detail here (see pp. 118-120 below and n. 108 above). The example of Espinosa in Condal 6, a hamlet deep in Manresa which was sold in its entirety with several dependant settlements to Count Guifré in 889, when its owners (of whose wives several seem to have Arabic names) claimed to hold it from their parents, surely pushing ownership back well beyond the previous ten years, is justly adduced however. He and I are also largely in agreement about the process of settlement in the Vall de Sant Joan.

¹⁴¹ Cat. Car. IV 9.

¹⁴² Could Albaro here represent a Latinisation of a Mozarab hybrid form al-Baró, ‘the baron’, something like modern “el Jefe”, ‘the boss’?

¹⁴³ Possibilities may be visible through P. D. King, Law and Society in Visigothic Spain, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 3rd Series 5 (Cambridge 1972), pp. 52-84; see also R. Collins, Early Medieval Spain: unity in diversity, 400-1000, (London 1983, Basingstoke 1995), pp. 101-107 of the 2nd edn.; cf. *ibid.*, p. 252.

something of the sort is to be seen here. On the other hand, the younger Centurion was probably not a military leader, since he appears as a judge, usually the preserve of clerics.¹⁴⁴ Still, quite aside from the Old Testament usage of “*iudex*” for the kings in its pages, and Visigothic usage of the term,¹⁴⁵ we should remember that a word meaning ‘judge’ would be the most likely translation of the Muslim rank of *qādī*, a rank which also had much more wide-ranging secular rôles and could amount to the government of an entire city. I do not suggest that Centurion’s father had been a Muslim *qādī*, however, as quite apart from the incongruity of his name in such a context, he is not called judge in his appearance at Tona. In any case, Carolingian rule had been more recent in the area than Umayyad.¹⁴⁶ Rather than looking for precise antecedents we may do better to envisage the use of a grand- and ancient-sounding title for an improvised position of authority, but if so, the succession to the name shows that it took at least some root.

This is not a case for Centurion’s being the last holder of a post-Visigothic hereditary local office, though such a suggestion would not be unparalleled.¹⁴⁷ A certain importance is nonetheless suggested by the fact that he also appears in two other documents, of which one is another hearing but

¹⁴⁴ The only judge other than Centurion in this material without a clerical title known to me is Guifré Vicar of Néspola, discussed in Chapter 4, pp. 239 & 241 below. J. A. Bowman, Shifting Landmarks: Property, Proof, and Dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000, Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past (Ithaca 2004), p. 82 n. 10, adds two more from outside my geographical and chronological foci.

¹⁴⁵ King, Law and Society, pp. 77-84.

¹⁴⁶ We might therefore think of the Frankish office of *centenarius*, mentioned in several Carolingian precepts to the area and in range and apparent function not incompatible with Centurion’s appearances.

¹⁴⁷ I think particularly of the case of “Prince Quintilian”, supposedly of nearby Mogrony: see the references in n. 140 above.

from Artés in Manresa, miles to the west.¹⁴⁸ That too is no regular hearing, but another swearing to lordship, here to the Bishop of Osona. In this one there were only (only!) 102 inhabitants of the castle term of Artés named as swearing, before several of the same people indeed.¹⁴⁹ That Centurion appears almost entirely in contexts where such rule seems to have been at issue suggests that whatever authority his father had possessed was helpful in enforcing the new one, that his presence assisted a kind of abdication of the power that had gone before. Perhaps this should also cause us to wonder about the other early judges who appear in this material,¹⁵⁰ but in the case of Centurion at least, I think there is definitely an indication at least that he had some standing which needs to be explained in such terms, even as it was brought to the book of comital authority.

That this standing appears to have had something to do with secular authority, we can also deduce from the third and last document in which he appears, which is not a swearing to lordship but a sale. It is however a sale of massive importance, by Count-Marquis Sunyer of Barcelona, Osona and Girona and his son Count Ermengol of Osona, of all the lands which he had obtained from Bishop Radulf of Urgell, his and Abbess Emma's brother, and Radulf's son Oliba.¹⁵¹ Not just the dignitaries but the amounts involved emphasise this

¹⁴⁸ Vic 182. The other document is Cat. Car. IV 420.

¹⁴⁹ As well as Centurion, Marquis Sunyer and the judge Sendred, and Fedanç, on whom see pp. 120-122 below.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 81-84, which draws a sharp contrast between the trained and professional judges of this area and those of elsewhere, much more like Centurion here and also the Vicar Guifré of Néspola (see n. 144 above) in their apparent secular and non-judicial importances. I suspect that in fact Catalonia had both Bowman's judges and the ones he sets apart, and called them '*iudex*' equally. I suggest below that the trained cadre of judges he sees were perhaps the creation of a comital authority reaching into new areas: see Chapter 4, p. 216 & n. 30.

¹⁵¹ Cat. Car. IV 420; the sale to Sunyer and Ermengol is Cat. Car. IV 419.

importance: Sunyer had paid Radulf and Oliba 1000 *solidi*, an unheard-of amount in the tenth century especially in this area of the March, and now they sold the lands, back to Oliba for the same price, but they retained an alod whose name was Palau and which lay on the border between the castle terms of Gurb and Voltregà. The name, in the Latin "*palaciolo*", 'little palace', has been thought to indicate some major comital residence,¹⁵² which given the persons involved and the fact that one of the neighbours mentioned is Abbess Emma, is not hard to believe. This had presumably been Count Guifré's land. Its separation from the old patrimony of Radulf,¹⁵³ which had already once and would again be transferred to Santa Maria de Ripoll, perhaps required the special kind of endorsement which Centurion provided. Furthermore, in the subsequent donation of Palau to Santa Maria (whose it had presumably previously been), a number of estates were excepted from the property, and among them was land held by a man who was also a neighbour of the land, implying at least two holdings in the area.¹⁵⁴ His name was Albaro. The implication of this seems to be that Centurion's family held land not just in Tona (at the castle) but also here on the edge of Gurb in Osona, land moreover with apparently ancient fiscal links.¹⁵⁵ If Albaro's presence explains Centurion's presence in the previous transaction, this was old family land. Had in fact the elder Centurion been one of those who sold land to Guifré? And what had this 'palace' been before Guifré

¹⁵² A. Benet i Clarà and A. Pladevall i Font, in Pladevall, J. Sarri i Vilageliu, Benet & D. Arumí i Gómez, "Santa Maria de Palau" in J. Vigué (ed.), *Catalunya Romànica II: Osona I*, ed. J. Vigué (Barcelona 1984), pp. 230-235 at pp. 230-231.

¹⁵³ Despite Radulf's oblation, he left c. 902, apparently taking his entry-gift, of which these properties must have been part, with him: see M. Rovira, "Un bisbe d'Urgell del segle X: Radulf" in *Urgellia* Vol. 3 (Montserrat 1980), pp. 167-184 at pp. 169-170.

¹⁵⁴ Cat. Car. IV 535.

¹⁵⁵ On the significance of the Visigothic fisc, see S. Castellanos, "The Political Nature of Taxation in Visigothic Spain" in *Early Medieval Europe* Vol. 12 (Oxford 2004), pp. 201-228.

acquired it? These are to us impossible questions, but the Centurion family were apparently part of the answers.

We may from this family's apparent position wonder what other relics of a post-Visigothic authority may have remained in the area as Emma and her family moved in. One obvious candidate is the position of *saio*, which in the time of the Visigothic kings had been a royal functionary who collected judicial fines, carried out punishments and enforced the judge's order.¹⁵⁶ In keeping with the extensive survival of Visigothic law in the Catalan counties,¹⁵⁷ this office appears even in some of our earliest documentation from the resettled area,¹⁵⁸ but because it was, unlike Centurion's curious name, retained by the new administration it is harder to say that it had been there before our documentation commences, especially as it seems to have been held for only a short time by each candidate.¹⁵⁹ If it had, however, it probably fell within the command of the new authority almost immediately; the *saio* in Vallfogona seems to have been a man on good terms with Sant Joan, at least during his term in the office.¹⁶⁰ An indication of the likely status of other *saiones* is that of Anno, the *saio* at the Vall de Sant Joan hearing. He appears in several other documents, three of them hearings, and in two of them is the first of the *boni*

¹⁵⁶ King, *Law and Society*, pp. 188 & nn. 2 & 3.

¹⁵⁷ A. Iglesia Ferreirós, "El derecho en la Cataluña altomedieval" in Udina, *Symposium Internacional II*, pp. 27-34. Cf. the rather more (perhaps too) nuanced picture of Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*, pp. 33-55.

¹⁵⁸ E. g. Vic 1 (879).

¹⁵⁹ For example, in Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 the *saio* present is Anno, whom we go on to discuss below. Anno also appears in several other documents (see below), but is never otherwise seen as *saio* even though among them Condal 16 (from 904), 35 (from earlier in 913) and 53 (from 917) are hearings. In the first of them, the *saio* is one Francó, not otherwise seen; in 35 it was one Teuderic Bonhom (who is discussed below at pp. 121-122) and in the last Reinoard, already mentioned, on whom see pp. 135-136 below. None of these men occur as *saio* again either. From this we can deduce that if the office of *saio* had a term, it cannot have been more than 4 years (913 to 917), and that if instead the situation was that one resigned the office, one retained one's law-worthiness all the same, so it was probably not resigned for reasons of disgrace or misconduct.

homines listed there.¹⁶¹ Only one of his appearances therefore is at anything other than a hearing, and that was an important gift of entry to Sant Joan.¹⁶² His first appearance of all however has nothing to do with Sant Joan; the same year as that gift of entry, Anno was also operating at another hearing, this time over tithes from the villages of Estiula and Montner which were claimed by Abbot Daguí of Santa Maria, whose mandatory Anno here was.¹⁶³ This is interesting, as Daguí may well have been in charge of Sant Joan before Emma came of age;¹⁶⁴ Anno's clear importance appears to have been put to the service of first one community and then the other, and one of the ways in which he could be of service was as *saió*.

One other dignity that needs consideration in this light is the priesthood. It is true that something like a standard ecclesiastical structure is rapidly apparent in our sources, powered by the re-establishment of the bishopric of Osona (perhaps as late as 885)¹⁶⁵ and of course of the monasteries of Santa Maria and Sant Joan de Ripoll, but we have seen that these two churches had an existence even in 880 when a priest, one Ariulf, is seen donating extensive lands

¹⁶⁰ See p. 102 & n. 139 above.

¹⁶¹ Anno appears in Cat. Car. IV 45, 119 & 120 & Condal 12, 16, 35 & 53. In the first of these he is preceded in the witness list by one Oliba, who seems also to appear in Cat. Car. IV 119 (as witness) & Condal 12 & 74. In the hearing with Anno Oliba is named along with several others present (not including Anno) as a *vassus dominicus* given that the term does not occur elsewhere in the area as far as I know, it may be only a scribal affectation for *bonus homo*, but if so a fascinating one.

¹⁶² Condal 12: see n. 18.

¹⁶³ Cat. Car. IV 45.

¹⁶⁴ The suggestion of Abadal, in "La fundació del monestir de Ripoll" in Miscel·lània Anselm M. Albareda Vol. I, Analecta Montserratensia Vol. 9 (Montserrat 1955-1956), pp. 187-197, repr. in *idem*, Dels Visigots als Catalans, I pp. 485-494, at p. 487 of the reprint, on the basis of VL VIII ap. I; see also Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", pp. 235-244.

¹⁶⁵ Such is the argument of R.-H. Bautier, "Prétendue dissidence", at pp. 493-494; Abadal saw it as one of the initial motors of resettlement and thus dated it rather earlier ("Reconquesta d'una regió interior", pp. 320-321) but considered that at first the church was administered by archpriests due to the incumbent Archbishop of Narbonne's reluctance to consecrate a bishop (Primers Comtes, pp. 90-96).

to the former.¹⁶⁶ At Vallfogona's first church, "*ipsa ecclesia*", pastoral care there was probably the task of the monastery's numerous priests whose abbess had probably raised the church.¹⁶⁷ We also know that settlers in frontier waste land often included priests,¹⁶⁸ but when we have admitted that the border was not empty when the resettlement began, we may suppose also that the people already out there had some form of pastoral care also.

Such archaeology of the tenth-century frontier as has been done (and more importantly, such as has been published, which is a much smaller amount) appears to confirm this picture. Most obvious in this regard is the church of Santa Margarida de Martorell, in the March of Barcelona in an area probably not documented until the twelfth century, whose excavators believe that their finds demonstrate a continuous process of modification of the church building from its initial building in the fifth century.¹⁶⁹ There is however no nucleated settlement documented near the church in our period, and this suggests that even the dispersed settlement which archaeologists think usual in this area had enough organisation to muster such construction resources.¹⁷⁰ It is

¹⁶⁶ VL VIII ap. I.

¹⁶⁷ Pp. 88-91 above.

¹⁶⁸ For example note the presence of two priests among the *Hispani* complaining to Charlemagne of usurpation of their settlements in Cat. Car. II Particulars II.

¹⁶⁹ A. Mauri & M. Soler, "Les conques baixes del Llobregat i l'Anoia a la fi del 1r mil·lenni" in Ollich, *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac*, pp. 209-224 at p. 211, citing the unpublished report of R. Navarro & A. Mauri, "Memòria de les excavacions arqueològiques a l'església de Santa Margarida de Martorell", Barcelona, Servei d'Arqueologia de la Generalitat de Catalunya 1983-1997. Without access to this report it is difficult for the foreign reader to be sure that the apparently several, but un-numbered, episodes of rebuilding of this church really demonstrate continuous **usage**. The project has generated an informative and well-illustrated website by M. Farreny, A. Mauri & R. Navarro, *Santa Margarida de Martorell. Un projecte de recerca del Centre d'Estudis Martorellencs*, at <http://medievalweb.org/sm/>, last modified 8th July 2005 as of 21st January 2006, but its page "Les adaptacions de l'edifici original" (<http://medievalweb.org/sm/adaptacions.htm>, last modified as previous) does not settle this question. Note in any case that the authors make the tentative suggestion that the settlement may be referred to in a document of (898X)911 as "*villa de martyres*" (*ibid.*); if so, this should warn us to be careful as the document is Count Sunyer's wedding gift to his wife Aimildis, Condal 9.

¹⁷⁰ For discussion of settlement types see J. Bolòs, "Paisatge, poblament i societat a Catalunya entorn de

difficult to imagine who might have been more involved in the coordination of such an effort than the priest that such an operative foundation implies. As in Martorell then perhaps in Vallfogona, and we should therefore question if all the priests in our documentation need be new arrivals.

The most obvious suggestion that they were not, aside from Albaro out in Tona, is Garsies, scribe of the Vall de Sant Joan oath. He is not seen in any other document known to me. He is not therefore an evidenced member of the Sant Joan canonry, of the Vic cathedral chapter or of any other body of clergy from the March, though with one obvious contender, Santa Maria de Ripoll, it is impossible to be as sure. Neither, subject to similar reservations, was he a member of the retinues of either Marquis Sunyer or Count Miró.¹⁷¹ Yet he was called upon, at several stages which suggests that he was relatively easy to get hold of, to redact Sant Joan's largest and possibly most contentious document, when Sant Joan boasted numerous literate clerics capable of the job such as Gentiles, who wrote the accompanying evacuation and two other court hearings from the local area, one of which was also held under the presidency of Count Miró.¹⁷² This suggests that, like Centurion, Garsies held some

l'any 1000" in Ollich, *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac*, pp. 254-283, with English abstract pp. 285-286.

¹⁷¹ Checks carried out through Cat. Car. IV, Condal, Girona, Vic and Urgell. As Cat. Car. IV contains everything surviving for Osona and Manresa on this period, some confidence in this argument from silence is possible. The volume of *Catalunya Carolíngia* covering Cerdanya has not yet emerged, and I did not have access to that covering Besalú (S. Sobrequés i Vidal, S. Riera i Viader & M. Rovira i Solà (edd.), *Catalunya Carolíngia V: els comtats de Girona, Besalú, Empúries i Peralada*, ed. R. Ordeig i Mata, *Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica LXI* (Barcelona 2003), 2 vols) at the time of submission, so Count Miró's area is less easy to be sure of, but Garsies does not appear in any of the 23 documents in which I then knew that Miró does (Carlemany 31; Cat. Car. IV 119, 120, 185, 287, 446, 1242, 1331, 1668 & X; Condal 16, 73, 76 & 108; Condes pp. 88-90 & 91 (both abstracts of now-lost documents); Consagracions 19-21; *MH* app. LXIII, XCII & CCCIV; Rovira, "Un bisbe del segle X" app. 5 & 18; Marqués, "Domna Rarlón", ap. II; & B. Alart (ed.), *Cartulaire roussillonnais* (Perpignan 1880), no. XIII).

¹⁷² Condal 35 & 53, the former of which Count Miró attended. An earlier hearing of his, Condal 16, from deeper inside Miró's territory, was also written by a Sant Joan cleric, the then-deacon Nantulf who was by 913 of sufficient status (and priestly rank) to be on the panel of Vall de Sant Joan hearing (and also those

important but invisible local status that made his participation in so major a change of the political situation important, and was not the only such priest though his position here is outstanding.¹⁷³ By putting his name to the hearing he may have endorsed, just as I suggest Centurion was doing, the transfer of power.

This suggests we should look carefully at other priests in the early documents. A priest's local importance, both in spiritual terms and perhaps because of being the local writing specialist,¹⁷⁴ at least where formal documents were required, would have been considerable. In areas outside a regular ecclesiastical structure, the status of a priest might be a miniature mirror of that of a post-Roman bishop to his city.¹⁷⁵ With a population at least partly composed of those who had lived here since before the monastery, we might expect some of them to turn to their old local priests rather than the Sant Joan newcomers, and one must also wonder what the pastoral rôle of these clerics, whether contemporaneous settlers or long-term residents, was in the wake of the new church. Are some of the clerics appearing as Sant Joan clergy actually locals following in an older tradition under a new rule? Or should we instead

in Condal 35 & 53). This makes it unlikely that Garsies was Miró's scribe for such matters. The Sant Joan copies of these documents might, it could be counter-argued, be home-made and thus bear their own scribes' names. If this was usual, however, why did it have to be Garsies who redacted Cat. Car. IV 119? Nantulf is also seen in Condal 16, 19, 29, 51, 54 & 73.

¹⁷³ Similar things might be said of the priest Adroer, who appears only in Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 and Condal 12, which suggests a local concentration and an importance only required for certain high-profile transactions, as well as perhaps an advanced age. Likewise the priests Daguí and Arià, on the panel of Cat. Car. IV 119 (and in Arià's case 120) & Condal 35 but not seen elsewhere; the origin of their clear status is thus not recoverable.

¹⁷⁴ Though see on questions of writing ability Chapter 1 above, pp. 31-33.

¹⁷⁵ Compare for example the remarks of S. Coates, "The Bishop as Benefactor and Civil Patron: Alcuin, York and episcopal authority in Anglo-Saxon England" in *Speculum* Vol. 71 (Cambridge 1996), pp. 529-558, with the apparent status of the priest of Muslim Lérida over his area of the frontier, as exposed by R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals (ed.), *Catalunya Carolíngia III: els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça*, Pt. 2, *Memòries de la secció històrico-arqueològica* 15 (Barcelona 1955), no. 270, and commented on by Collins, "Visigothic Law and Regional Diversity", pp. 96-97, with the relevant charter reprinted in the same

look to some of the scribes who only occur once or twice in the early Sant Joan charters for evidence of the membership of the older priestly group?¹⁷⁶ Perhaps "*ipsa ecclesia*" began as a base for existing clergy who then became part of the Sant Joan *familia*,¹⁷⁷ or perhaps each man had to choose, and whether we should see the earlier priests as a corporate body of any kind may be doubtful.

The 'old guard'

In the secular world, even as our record opens there were different levels of status in the area. The monastery's endowment acts reveal to us that some of this status must have predated the monastery. Although Daniel and Eldesind, from whom Count Guifré bought some of the lands with which he is reported to have endowed the monastery, may have been undertaking settlement on his behalf, they were certainly independent of the monastery, and outside of the Vall de Sant Joan so must most people have been. We have met some of them already, including Daniel, and Miró *bonus homo*, whose interests may have mostly lain further afield, but also the village founders Centoll and Longovard and the priests, including Garsies but also others.¹⁷⁸ These are the people I consider the 'old guard', those who, either through tenure history, independence of endeavour or sheer strength of resources had the ability to choose how they would deal with the steadily-growing power of the monastery

volume, ap. XVIII.

¹⁷⁶ For example, Fronimius, in Condal 12 or Godregild in Condal 19; Fronimius is at the same time a bad and good example, because his one other occurrence, in Cat. Car. IV 45, is as a scribe for Santa Maria de Ripoll, and Santa Maria could also have provided a base for both 'new' and 'old' clerics.

¹⁷⁷ An obvious candidate is the cleric Ettore, who appears in only two charters dealing with land at or near 'the church' (Condal 62 & 84); on the other hand, as he was not a priest, he cannot have been the officiant of the church. His lack of other appearances nonetheless suggests that he was not a Sant Joan cleric proper.

¹⁷⁸ For the other priests see n. 173 above.

as it and Abbess Emma expanded their combined holdings over the Serra de Vallfogona.

A group like this one has been hypothesised by A. Vadillo Pinilla in his study of the early patrimony of Sant Joan.¹⁷⁹ I do not agree entirely with his understanding of settlement in the frontier zones, or with his identification of some of the people in the sources from whom he derives it. Lying behind our differences here is a major one about the nature of Sant Joan's support in the local community. Vadillo sees Sant Joan's backing as coming from the highest echelons of society, not just the comital family but people whom he sees as quasi-independent frontier lords of castles, bishops and priests. I by contrast am anxious to stress that in fact we see very little evidence of support for Sant Joan from such people.

The castellan Madeix and the Vicar (a secular official, notionally a deputy of the count) Fedanç, his key supporters, are cases in point.¹⁸⁰ Undoubtedly a powerful man, Fedanç seems to have actually been Vicar of Manlleu, where he appears founding the church of Sant Esteve de Corcó as early as 906.¹⁸¹ His holdings in Llaés, if they are not those of another Vicar of the same name which is unlikely, show the spread of his power. He also

¹⁷⁹ Vadillo, "Dominio de San Juan", pp. 1029-1034; see also n. 108 above.

¹⁸⁰ Vadillo identifies the priest Madeix, seen disposing of land in Balbs in 938 in Condal 101, with the eponym of the Castell de Madeix (now Castellar de Nuch) in Cerdanya seen in Condal 113; with no other occurrences of the priest and inconstant clerical titles this certainly **could** be the same man, but there is no evidence to suggest it. The castle-founder however seems from Condal 113 to have married the mother of Emma's sometime mandatory Esclúa, for whom Vadillo also has an unworkable identification discussed at n. 108 above. Esclúa is not however said to be Madeix's son in the charter. On this see p. 140 below. Certainly from the evidence the priest Madeix cannot be said to have been a particular friend of Sant Joan; on the castellan see below. Vadillo also identifies the Vicar Fedanç, discussed in what follows, with a priest seen in Boscarons in 918 (Condal 58); this again requires the lapse of a clerical title in the documentation, not impossible but perhaps less likely into a Vicariate, and relies solely on the similarity of name. At the very least this is special pleading.

¹⁸¹ Cat. Car. IV 71.

appears at the Vall de Sant Joan hearing, where he is one of the *boni homines* sitting on the panel,¹⁸² and furthermore appears with Centurion on the panel at the Artés hearing of 938.¹⁸³ Nonetheless, this man of considerable resources and standing did not donate to Sant Joan; his property made its way there at second-hand, and not from his heartland either. Madeix, from his three appearances, seems to have been a Cerdanya *bonus homo*, who was later known as the founder of a castle; he also had nothing to do with Sant Joan directly.¹⁸⁴ Likewise Daniel, the seller of some of Sant Joan's eventual lands to Count Guifré, is remembered in their documents not by his own act but by the Count's. Looking at the other participants of the Vall de Sant Joan hearing, our largest list of local *boni homines*, few if any have any connection with Sant Joan beyond appearing at such public occasions. Miró the *bonus homo* appears by connection to Count Guifré and at the hearing;¹⁸⁵ Salamó his fellow witnessed two donations of others to Sant Joan but after this, though one donation made him a neighbour of the monastery's land, he himself shows no connection with the monastery except in court hearings;¹⁸⁶ Sunifred, another, never dealt with the monastery;¹⁸⁷ and the list goes on.¹⁸⁸ It is hard to escape the conclusion that this level of secular notable, far from being Sant Joan's initial source of wealth,

¹⁸² Cat. Car. IV 119.

¹⁸³ Vic 182. I do not think it is this man we see as witness in Condal 95 & 119 in la Vinya, however, as not only is his vicarial status not emphasised as it is repeatedly in Condal 121, but also because as our Vicar first appears in 906, he must have been at least fifty by the time of these documents, and was thus probably too old to serve as witness.

¹⁸⁴ He appears in Condal 16 and Cat. Car. IV 119 (though not 120); "*castro de... Madeixo*" is mentioned by his widow Baielo (on whom see p. 140 below) in Condal 113.

¹⁸⁵ See p. 104 above.

¹⁸⁶ Seen in Condal 14, 21, 23, 24, 35 & 53.

¹⁸⁷ He may appear in Condal 21 & 25, both private transactions at Tolosa.

¹⁸⁸ Other *boni homines* present, such as Froilà and Eldefred, only otherwise appear in public capacities (in Condal 35 & 53 respectively); the others, with one exception studied below, simply do not reoccur identifiably.

had little or nothing to do with the monastery's rise. The Viscounts present in 913 are also notable by their absence in Sant Joan's other documents, and in fact, though Count Miró presided over two judgements (including that over the Vall de Sant Joan) in which the monastery was given the victory, after Guifré's endowment there are no **comital** donations to the monastery recorded at all. The monastery was having to manage entirely without the material support of the upper ranks of secular society. It is only at the bottom end of the range of those who merited the title *bonus homo* that we find any trace of a more willing interaction with Sant Joan. The élite, it seems, had already opted out.

Acceptance and co-operation

The unique comprehensiveness of the Vall de Sant Joan documentation allows us however to slip very slightly below this level. Most, though as said above not all, of the *boni homines* present at the hearing were listed as witnesses. Among them however were a number of other men who had apparently not been on the panel. It may be that we see the next layer of local status here. Support for this assumption may be gleaned from the apparent status of one such man, Asner, who is also seen in several other transactions.¹⁸⁹ In one of these appearances he does sit on a panel as a *bonus homo* but apparently he was not called on later the same year for the larger hearing.¹⁹⁰ His other transactions fill out our picture of this man: we first see him when he sold land in la Vinya de Vallfogona to Emma in 907, at which point he already had heirs, whose land had been apportioned to them and who stood as neighbours on one side to the

¹⁸⁹ Condal 20, 35, 50, 82, 85 & 105, and possibly at les Tenes in Condal 74.

¹⁹⁰ Condal 35.

land he sold. This, and his law-worthiness as displayed six years later, make him a plausible member of the 'old guard' in Vallfogona. We next see him at the two hearings, and then as witness to a donation to Sant Joan in Tolosa, at the end of the valley; in 916, as one of the executors to a bequest in la Vinya to Sant Joan by one Dato and his wife Anneri in 925;¹⁹¹ making a sale to one Tudiscle there in 927; and lastly as the neighbour of land in la Vinya being given to Sant Joan in 932. Though it may be lack of evidence rather than fact leading us to this conclusion, it seems then that his status at law was not necessarily connected with wealth, as he does not seem to have owned land outside la Vinya,¹⁹² although he had enough of that to be able to dispose of three plots and continue holding there. He was also happy to deal with Sant Joan; we first see him recorded selling to Emma, and he was happy to endorse other transfers to the monastery. He was, in any case, not simply neutral as the upper ranks of the Vall de Sant Joan panel seem to have been.

Parallel to the case of Asner is that of Teuderic Bonhom, the *saio* in Vallfogona in early 913.¹⁹³ Initially he appears as a witness to sales to Emma, in *Franchoneiga* and la Vinya, then in 913 we see him in his judicial rôle using this unusual surname,¹⁹⁴ which may suggest that he was there claiming the sort of status associated with a *bonus homo*, not normally asserted in less solemn

¹⁹¹ Dato is also seen as a witness in Condal 15 & 60, and thus represents another member of the 'old guard' who embraced the opportunities brought by the new monastery. On the motives for giving to monasteries generally, see now B. H. Rosenwein, To Be The Neighbor of Saint Peter: the social meaning of Cluny's property, 909-1049 (Ithaca 1989), *passim*, and Innes, State and Society, pp. 13-50, or in briefer form, B. H. Rosenwein, "Property Transfers and the Church, eighth to eleventh centuries: an overview" in Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: moyen âge Vol. 111 (Rome 1999), pp. 563-575 with résumé p. 978, & M. Innes, "Kings, Monks and Patrons: political identities and the Abbey of Lorsch" in R. Le Jan (ed.), La Royauté et les Élités dans l'Europe Carolingienne (début IX^e siècle aux environs de 920) (Villeneuve d'Ascq 1998), pp. 301-324.

¹⁹² Unless at les Tenes: see n. 189 above.

¹⁹³ Teuderic appears in Condal 19, 23, 26, 27, 31, 35, 50, 52, 53, 61, 71, 79, 84 & 86, being *saio* in 35.

gatherings. Thereafter he witnesses donations, and appears in one as a neighbour, by which we are able to deduce that he held a plot in la Vinya facing on to the public road. In 917 he was on the panel of *boni homines* which adjudged a woman by the name of Bonita, to whom we shall come presently, to be wrongly holding land belonging to Sant Joan.¹⁹⁵ Thereafter he continued to appear endorsing transfers to the monastery, until in 924 he actually sold land to Emma.¹⁹⁶ This is not perhaps an enthusiastic embrace of the new order, but he regularly acted in the monastery's interest, was willing to see it gain some of his property and cannot by any means be called opposed or indifferent.

Much more outstanding in this respect however is Eldoard. He appears, more than perhaps any other person visible in our evidence for Vallfogona save the counts, as a wealthy man. Land he sold in la Vinya in 917 included a property at a mill,¹⁹⁷ a powerful source of income,¹⁹⁸ and whether or not he owned the mill as well as the land there, he gave another mill, along with a considerable chunk of other property, to the monastery in 918.¹⁹⁹ The bounds of the land in this donation, "from the eastern part on Coll de Canes and from the south on the ridge of Milany and from the part around indeed on the ridge of Sant Joan and from the west on the river Archamala,"²⁰⁰ spanned the whole valley north to south, and Eldoard still retained lands after this donation, as

¹⁹⁴ Condal 35: "... *Teuderigo, qui alium nomen vocant Bonhomen, saione...*".

¹⁹⁵ Condal 53.

¹⁹⁶ Condal 79.

¹⁹⁷ Condal 52: "*ipsa alia terra ad ipso molino*".

¹⁹⁸ Bonnassie, *Catalogne*, II pp. 459-464.

¹⁹⁹ Condal 57.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*; compare Map 2.

mentions as a neighbour in la Vinya in 924, 927 & 938 testify.²⁰¹ He also appears widely as a witness from 903 to 913, in areas ranging from les Tenes,²⁰² at the mouth of the valley, to la Vinya,²⁰³ where he also gave land to the nunnery in 914.²⁰⁴

One further fact about Eldoard deserves emphasis. His substantial landholdings near Coll de Canes cannot all have been worked by him personally, and he must have had subordinates. Ordinarily we cannot see such persons in the Vallfogona documentation, but in Eldoard's case we may note that the 917 and 918 transactions both feature among their witnesses men by the names of Fredelaico and Garsand. These two do not appear in any other documents.²⁰⁵ It is therefore possible that they had some special tie with Eldoard and had come out to witness for him, and yet they were presumably had standing enough to be worthwhile witnesses. Despite this probable importance, Eldoard did not take part in the Vall de Sant Joan hearing. This is an interesting contrast to the apparently less wealthy but higher-status Asner. In any case, Eldoard's donation of 918 placed Sant Joan in control of most of the eastern end of Vallfogona and whether his support wavered or not he must be accounted Sant Joan's greatest benefactor in the area in the monastery's early years.

²⁰¹ Condal 79, 86 & 111.

²⁰² Condal 15.

²⁰³ Condal 27, 28 & 36.

²⁰⁴ Condal 42.

²⁰⁵ There is a man by the name of Garsand who appears in Condal 109, 115, 121, 133 & 162, on whom see n. 247 below. These appearances occur relatively frequently after a nineteen-year gap from the appearances of Eldoard's man, and go on until 962 so that the last few at least must be a different man. Given this, it seems more likely to me that all those after the gap in sequence are the second man and not the first.

Indifference, resistance and variability

Some persons of influence in the Vallfogona area were less active in their support of the monastery. Some of these appear as *boni homines* in the 913 hearing, but we may be missing many others who simply did not interact with the monastery. We can however see at least one case where this disengagement seems to be documentable. This is one Belló, whom we first see as witness in la Vinya in 907 and who appears thickly there until 913, or perhaps 924, and once in Balbs, but only twice as anything other than witness, in which capacity he is also to be seen at the Vall de Sant Joan hearing.²⁰⁶ The first exception was in 908, a private sale,²⁰⁷ and the other was an appearance as *bonus homo* at the smaller 913 hearing.²⁰⁸ Several of the transactions he witnesses are in favour of the monastery, but nonetheless this common witness in the area immediately neighbouring the monastery, where it was keen to acquire land, gave them nothing of his own and shows no other signs of interaction with them. His status and a sale to people who then sold to Emma, and presumably handed over the previous document at that time, have guaranteed him access to a history from which others' disinterest has probably excluded them.

Outright resistance to the new power of Sant Joan is impossible to show in any clear-cut fashion. A person who was so opposed would have had few options, given the support of the monastery by Count Guifré and his sons' apparent willingness to defend it if not to actively support it, except to move or ignore it, in either of which cases we would have no record. Even more obvious

²⁰⁶ Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 & Condal 20, 22, 26, 28, 34, 35 & possibly 79.

²⁰⁷ Condal 22, sold on to Emma in Condal 64.

²⁰⁸ Condal 35.

opposition to Sant Joan's interests is not unambiguous, and we have been taught by other studies to look askance at court hearings which seem to show conflict between disgruntled landholders and ecclesiastical interests.²⁰⁹ There may be one example of this in the Sant Joan documents also.

We first see Tudiscle in 908, accompanied by his wife Exalo,²¹⁰ buying land in Tolosa from a woman Munita and her children.²¹¹ Exalo also went by the name of Eldeberta, we are told when in 911 they sold some land at la Vinya to Emma,²¹² suggesting that at this stage they welcomed the monastery. Tudiscle appears as a witness to another such sale that year,²¹³ but when he next appeared in 913 had seemingly fallen into Emma's bad books. He appears to have gone back on an earlier donation to the monastery and was now summoned by Esclúa on behalf of Emma to answer for this before a large panel, including Teuderic in his appearance as *saio*, Anno, Belló, Asner, Froilà and the mysterious priests Arià and Daguí.²¹⁴ He was forced to admit that "today that land ought to be yours, of you the already-said Abbess Emma of whom Esclúa is the mandatory rather than of me Tudiscle or of any other man".²¹⁵ It must be noted that this donation must have taken place recently, unless Emma was prepared to overlook it when she bought land from Tudiscle in 911. In any case,

²⁰⁹ P. Fouracre, "'Placita' and the Settlement of Disputes in Later Merovingian France" in Davies & Fouracre, *Settlement of Disputes*, pp. 23-43 at p. 26; Rosenwein, *Neighbor of Saint Peter*, pp. 134-135 and *passim*. C. Wickham, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700-900' in Davies & Fouracre, *Settlement of Disputes*, pp. 105-124 at p. 117 gives references to the Italian version of this debate.

²¹⁰ She is seen in Condal 20, 21, 31, 54 & 86; Udina also saw a woman of this name mentioned once only in Condal 83 but I think his "... *qui nobis advenit Exalo de parentum nostrorum*" demands emendation to "... *ex alode parentum nostrorum*".

²¹¹ Condal 21.

²¹² Condal 31.

²¹³ Condal 32.

²¹⁴ See pp. 121-122, pp. 112-113, p. 124, pp. 120-121, p. 104 & pp. 115-116 n. 173 above respectively.

the episode did Tudiscle's standing no lasting harm, as he was witnessing again within four months,²¹⁶ and then fairly continuously for the following fourteen years.²¹⁷ Many of the transactions he witnessed were in favour of Sant Joan, and given the preservation factors of course he may have witnessed many more that were not. Finally in 927 he is seen buying land in la Vinya, and a few months later, with his wife, donating it and several other plots to Sant Joan. One might choose to see this career as an initial acceptance of the monastery, then a misjudged donation clawed back, followed by a lengthy cooling-off period when its restitution was compelled, but ended with a final coming-round as the necessity to provide for his and his wife's souls pressed upon him. On the other hand, the absence of any record or evidence of the donation in the quitclaim and the failure of the episode to alter Tudiscle's apparent standing in the community might rather allow one to see it as an attempt by Tudiscle to pass land to the monastery in good public fashion of which his grasp was perhaps dubious.²¹⁸

Not every hearing necessarily represents a deal struck under plain wraps, though. One man in particular illustrates the complexity of the situation of someone who did not want to fall whole-heartedly in with the monastery. This man's name was Guimarà. Identifying his transactions for certain is difficult, as there were several men of this name in the area in Sant Joan's early

²¹⁵ Condal 35.

²¹⁶ Condal 36.

²¹⁷ Condal 37, 40, 42, 45, 54, 61, 62, 69, 75, 79, 82, 84 & 99.

²¹⁸ He is made to say that he had held the land for fifteen years (Condal 35): it is difficult to know what the value of this statement was but the period specified is exactly half that of what would be required to claim unquestionable tenure under the 30-year rule. Probably this is mentioned to ensure that he could not claim the right to retract his donation on the grounds of such possession.

years. 15 documents feature men called Guimarà living in Vallfogona,²¹⁹ but these cannot all be the same men. One at least was a la Vinya landholder, named as the son of Placià and brother of Gomesind, Fermí, Atilà, Froilà, Eldesind, Ceucefred and Aió, as the family occur together in two different charters.²²⁰ A Guimarà appearing in *Arigo* was however part of a different family, son of Grima and brother of Galí and Arcedònia.²²¹ In the Vall de Sant Joan hearing there is a Guimarà listed in la Vinya there, but none of the rest of either family are there and he appears to be paired with a woman called Adolina. One of these men or another however occurs with a wife Bonita who also appears in four charters,²²² and in one of these he represented her against Abbess Emma, which is why we are interested;²²³ but earlier the pair sold land to Emma.²²⁴ Finally, in three cases the Guimarà in question is of witness status, being in the first a *bonus homo*.²²⁵

Given the spread of the influential men in the valley which we have already observed, it may be simplistic to divide the appearances above on the basis of location, but I suspect that at least the Guimarà of the Vall de Sant Joan is probably not seen elsewhere, that document having again pulled up the lowest ranks which are not normally recorded. The remaining occurrences may be tabulated as follows.

²¹⁹ Cat. Car. IV 119 & 507 & Condal 18, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 46, 50, 53, 54, 86, 99 & 110.

²²⁰ Condal 18 & 46.

²²¹ Condal 37.

²²² Cat. Car. IV 507 & Condal 36, 53 & 110.

²²³ Condal 53.

²²⁴ Condal 36.

²²⁵ Condal 35, 37 & 40.

Condal:	18	35	36	37	39	40	46	50	53	54	86	99	110
Son of Placià	X						X						
Son of Grima				X									
Husband of Bonita			X		X				X			X	X ²²⁶
In la Vinya	X	X	X		X		X		X	X			
In Tolosa								X			X		
In <i>Arigo</i>				X									X
In Balbs						X							
<i>Bonus homo</i>		X											
Witness				X ²²⁷		X				X			

Table 1. Occurrences of persons called Guimarà in the Condal sequence

This allows us to see that the interests of Placià's family lay in Vinya. The son of Grima was concerned with *Arigo*.²²⁸ The husband of Bonita however appears to have held land in both locations, which means that, unless he is someone entirely separate, either the son of Placià acquired an interest in *Arigo* late on, or that from early on the son of Grima held land both there and in Vinya. As the first charter in which the latter appears is witnessed by another Guimarà, he cannot be the man of witness standing (assuming that only one of them was so qualified). Since the husband of Bonita was clearly a man of some resource I suspect that he was the witness. Bonita's husband is probably therefore also the son of Placià, and this makes it likely that he is also the *bonus homo* of the early 913 hearing.²²⁹ The Tolosa occurrences however could be either or another man entirely, and since both are mentions as neighbour rather

²²⁶ In this charter a Guimarà is named as a neighbour with one Bonita, but there is no family connection stated. Note also that in Cat. Car. IV 507, a Sant Joan document misfiled at the ACA due to a botched dating clause and thus omitted from Udina's edition, one Guimarà sells land in Vallfogona to a Bonita. I suspect this must be the same couple.

²²⁷ One Guimarà appears as actor in this charter and another as witness.

²²⁸ The son of Grima seems to have been dead by 942, when his brother Galí appears (in Condal 116) with two other siblings (not those seen in 37) making a bequest to Sant Joan for their late mother's soul, at which Guimarà was not present. Unfortunately this also postdates the last appearance of the son of Placià.

²²⁹ I therefore consider the son of Placià to occur in Condal 18, 35, 36, 39, 40, 46, 53, 54, 99 & 110 and the son of Grima to appear in Condal 37 only, while Condal 50 & 86 may feature either or a third man of the same name. I do not think any of these men are he who signs for la Vinya de la Vall de Sant Joan.

than as anything testifying more active involvement, I disregard them in what follows.

With this web at least partly untangled, we can see that the man I consider to be the important one of the Guimaràs in our record had a somewhat varied interaction with the monastery. Chronologically his first appearance is in 905, when he appeared with his father approving a sale to Emma in la Vinya, but when we next see him in 913 his own status is clearer as he appears as a *bonus homo*, though again not one of the first rank as he does not so testify in the Vall de Sant Joan hearing later that year. A few months later he and Bonita sold land to Emma themselves, in la Vinya; later that year they bought land next to some of Emma's from a woman called Clarilda. Early next year Guimarà appeared as a witness in Balbs, some way off, and this may not be the same man; it is possible however that as someone of importance friendly to the monastery he had been asked to witness this sale to Emma. That autumn, his father, now remarried, sold another piece of land to Emma, and again Guimarà and his siblings gave their approval.

So far so friendly: Guimarà appears to have followed his father's lead in dealing with the monastery and been someone the monastery was willing to trust as a witness for transactions in which he himself had no apparent interest. When in 917 he appears in court defending his wife's land against Emma's claims, therefore, we might be inclined to suspect another *Scheinprozess*. The process by which he lost the claim is suitably vague: he called on Francholino, a man of some influence whom we shall examine later, to stand as author for the possession of the land, and "he did not do it", whereupon Guimarà was forced

to admit by the judges that he could show no proof of his wife's right to the land.²³⁰ The two reasons we adduced above for suspecting that Tudiscle's hearing might not have been genuine do not here apply however; while we do not know on what basis Emma claimed the land, we do know on what basis Guimarà claimed it, to wit, a grant (or pledge?) from Francholino. Similarly, Tudiscle's standing appeared unaffected by his court appearance, but although Guimarà appeared as witness in one further transaction two months later,²³¹ thereafter we see nothing of him for thirteen years. Furthermore, when we do, it is not a resumption of interaction with the monastery: quite the reverse in fact.

In 931 Guimarà and Bonita sold a considerable amount of land to none other than Count-Marquis Sunyer of Barcelona, Girona and Osona, for which they were paid the incredible sum (for Vallfogona) of 100 *solidi*. It would seem then that Guimarà and Bonita, somehow excluded from the influence they had grown used to while younger, had sought an alternative patron, and Sunyer, who already held land to the east of Vallfogona at Ridaura,²³² must have been pleased to get his feet on the ground so near his intransigent sister's monastery given his later ambitions on it. A closer examination of this document tangles matters even further. Its bounds run: "from the eastern part on Coll de Canes or

²³⁰ Condal 53: "... *ego eum offeram iui auctorem nomine Francholino, quod ille mihi autorerasset in ipsum placitum et non fecit...*". The Latin here does not help in interpreting this wraith-like assertion, of which I offer another interpretation below, pp. 141-142. Compare the case offered by Wickham, "Land Disputes and their Social Framework", pp. 106-107, whose record is printed in Davies & Fouracre, Settlement of Disputes, ap. XX.

²³¹ Condal 54.

²³² Supposedly given to Notre Dame de la Grasse at his conversion, but as the discussion of E. Magnou-Nortier & A. M. Magnou (edd.), Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de la Grasse tome I: 779-1119, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, Série in 8^{vo} 24 (Paris 1996) nos 67 & 68 make clear, this is disputable as none of the Ridaura documents seem exactly authentic; furthermore, we may note the later Besalú family interest in the area, as discussed at pp. 150-151 below. The area is also seen in Sunyer's control in Condal 9, however, and in his father's in HGL II 206.

on the selfsame mountain and from the south on the selfsame Mount Milany and from the west on the river *Rapanadella* and it runs along the river Archamala and from the round on the ridge as far as Estela".²³³ A glance at Map 2 will show that this sale therefore dealt with land that must have at least overlapped with and at most entirely included Eldoard's donation to the monastery of 918, slightly after Guimarà's apparent disgrace. It would therefore tell us a very great deal if we knew how he had got hold of it. Had the compensation behind the court case been a benefice or even an outright grant of Eldoard's lands? It is hard to explain why Emma would have given up half of eastern Vallfogona to gain a small plot at *Franchoneiga*. One wonders if there was some family claim that Guimarà was able to make (perhaps the apparently heirless Eldoard and Margarita were one or the other siblings of Placià?) and if the real reason for his exclusion from Emma's patronage after 918 was not in fact the case he lost before her but one that he won contesting Eldoard's grant? We can however be fairly sure that relations between Guimarà and Abbess Emma had gone bad, sufficiently so that he was inspired to or driven to seek a patron in someone more powerful, and decidedly (especially with brother Miró now being dead²³⁴) less friendly to the monastery.

The 'new guard'

Given that he was the son of an older settler,²³⁵ that he is first seen only in 905, some twenty years after the monastery's endowment and that his last

²³³ Condal 99.

²³⁴ Miró died in 928, as we know from his will, printed (and only surviving, as it was preserved at Santa Maria de Ripoll) in Condes pp. 88-90.

²³⁵ Some of Placià's land had come to him by *aprisio*, as is told us in Condal 46.

appearance is in 942,²³⁶ it is hard to consider Guimarà part of the ‘old guard’. Perhaps it was only the next generation who saw the monastery’s inroads on what might have been their inheritance or their land to clear as a threat. In either case, we can certainly show acceptance of the monastery among the valley’s oldest inhabitants. With Guimarà however we are into a generation who were growing up in the shadow of Sant Joan. To these people, the possibilities offered by the monastery and its patronage must have loomed large.

Engagement with Sant Joan

A variety of interactions were open to them. Arguably they needed to take none of them; there was still land to be taken in, and we find new *aprisio* tenures being referred to still in 938 (again with the phrase “first men under the sway of the Franks”), 948, 963 and even 976,²³⁷ though it now occurs more rarely.²³⁸ If the land in Vallfogona by now offered little chance of expansion, they could contemplate taking in land on the new frontier, and many must have done so, thus disappearing from our sample. Equally, for those inheriting land or the money with which to buy it, the situation might have been quite comfortable enough; and for a great number whom we do not see, of course, there was probably not sufficient capital available to make this sort of decision in the first place. Bearing in mind however that we are only concerning ourselves with a portion of the population, we can still describe several

²³⁶ Cat. Car. IV 507, accepting Ordeig’s reading of the botched dating clause.

²³⁷ Condal 114 (“... *nostra aprisione que nos traximus de heremo, primi homines sub ditione francorum*”; see n. 60 above), 124, 160 & 179.

²³⁸ Condal 151 (961) speaks of clearance from the waste without using the term “*aprisio*”, Condal 154 (also 961) uses the term “*ruptura*”. Other references later come from further south and west; predictably,

different forms of interaction.

The most obvious one was donation. While one might be capable of arranging one's own economic welfare in this life, the health of one's soul in the next required professional help, and we see many, both rich and less so, "heeding the preaching of the holy fathers, that alms may free the soul from death" and sparing some of their substance for the monastery accordingly.²³⁹ Of the wealthy we might highlight Trasoer Mauruç, who gave a substantial alod in 917,²⁴⁰ or Leutard and his wife Adalburga, who gave several plots of land in locations throughout Vallfogona in 927.²⁴¹ Of those less advantaged we might note Viaric, who gave half of a plot neighbouring Emma's land which he held by *aprisio* in 923,²⁴² or Guitèsen and his wife Filmera who gave two thirds of another *aprisio*, measured as six *sestaratae*, in 930;²⁴³ none of them seem to reappear in our sample, and the grant of portions of land rather than entire plots suggests that they were not in a position to dispense with larger lots.

For those with land but short of more movable wealth, the monastery presented a more material potential: Emma was willing to buy, and it will be noted that our two rich donors above had both previously sold land to her. Much rarer is any evidence of pledging,²⁴⁴ though this may only indicate that

the tenure follows the frontier.

²³⁹ A common formula, seen in e. g. Condal 51: "... *audientes predicacionem et monita Sanctorum Patrum, quia elemosina a morte liberat animam*", and also found in the Ripoll formulary (M. Zimmermann (ed.), "Un formulaire du X^{ème} siècle conservé à Ripoll" in *Faventia* Vol. 4 No. 2 (Barcelona 1982), pp. 25-86, at pp. 76-77).

²⁴⁰ Condal 51. He is also seen in Cat. Car. IV 346 & Condal 26, 82 & 85, of which Condal 26 is a sale to the monastery.

²⁴¹ Condal 84; they earlier appear in Condal 62, which saw them selling land to the monastery.

²⁴² Condal 75.

²⁴³ Condal 96: "... *sunt ipsas duas partes ad annona seminannum sestaratas vi.*" On the measure see n. 38 above.

²⁴⁴ There is only one such reference, in San Juan 156, but Abbot Isalguer recorded "*vix potest legi*", and

pledgers were able to redeem what they offered Emma. Given her forthrightness in purchasing it seems likely that she simply preferred not to do business in this way. One might also exchange lands with the monastery, though again this is sufficiently rare that I suspect it was not part of Emma's preferred strategy.²⁴⁵ But it was not just money that the monastery offered; it could also be a livelihood.

Working for Emma

We do not have any records of the numerous people who must have worked for the monastery in menial or low-level capacities,²⁴⁶ as cooks, hunters, herdsmen, falconers, fishermen or indeed as farmers or labourers on any of these lands which it gathered. There were however higher-profile ways in which one might serve. I have already suggested that one might if sufficiently trusted have been called upon to act as witness to transactions involving the monastery, and although we cannot rule out that such people had interests or links that we cannot see, Guimarà is not the only such possible friendly witness.²⁴⁷ There were even more trusted rôles: we have already seen Emma making use of the services of Esclúa as mandatory, and noted that Reinoard in

we do not know where it was.

²⁴⁵ Only one exchange with Emma is evidenced, in San Juan 57, at Puigmal, rather outside our area.

²⁴⁶ One possible exception to this is one Gualter who appears in Tolosa and Espinosa as a witness in 908 and 927 (Condal 21 & 87). The name is rare, though two other people owning it appear elsewhere later (Condal 182 & Vic 182), and this raises the intriguing possibility that this man was the slave of the same name supposedly given to the monastery by Count Guifré in 885 with his daughter (Condal 3 & 4). He would have been at the monastery as long as Emma, therefore, a well-known figure, and might well have been, as long as he were at some point freed, called upon as witness for transactions which probably happened at the monastery. On the other hand, none of the other slaves then given seem to recur like this, and it may therefore still be a different man.

²⁴⁷ Another is Fredarius, seen in Condal 41, 44, 62 & 113, enjoying after the sale which brings him into our record a witnessing career which, though of course the transactions may have been carried out at the monastery, covers Castellar de Nuch in Cerdanya as well as *Arigo* closer to home. Compare also Garsand (not he of p. 123 above), who appears in Condal 109, 115, 121, 133 & 162 witnessing monastery transactions all over the valley, and Hugubald, mentioned in n. 83 above.

his rôle as *saio* in 918 was most likely enforcing the law in the name of the monastery.²⁴⁸ It is also possible that the monastery used priests, and indeed possibly others, as local superintendents of its dispersed possessions: such a one may be Godefortes, who on the basis of his unusual name seems to appear both in la Vinya and in Cerdanya,²⁴⁹ and similar considerations may lie behind Fredarius's appearance nearby as witness later on.²⁵⁰

Reinoard and Esclúa however represent a rather more involved type of engagement with Sant Joan. Both these men, as said above, appear at the head of lists of those swearing in the Vall de Sant Joan oath, and though Reinoard cannot easily have been the founder of la Vinya, which was apparently existent already in 885 while he is last seen in 927, it is more likely that Scluvane, at which Esclúa (usually rendered "*Scluoa*" in contemporary Latin) attested, was that man's own endeavour, presumably with backing from the monastery. Since other eponymous foundations occur in the Vall de Sant Joan,²⁵¹ we may wonder how many of such people had been given either starting capital, privileges or promises of important rôles of service under Sant Joan to help

²⁴⁸ Her other named mandatory (in Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120 themselves & Condal 16) is one Ictor, who may have been another Vall de Sant Joan settler; someone of this name signs for la Vinya de Vall de Sant Joan, after Reinoard. For Reinoard as *saio* see Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future", p. 245, and n. 108 above.

²⁴⁹ Condal 29, 31 & 59.

²⁵⁰ See n. 247 above. Compare also Guisad who appears in Condal 14, 20, 24, 31, 34, 35, 38 & 42, and possibly 72 & 113: he scribes Condal 14, 20, 24 & 31, and all except the last two documents are from the Vallfogona area where he also appears as witness and as a member of judicial panels, supposing some local status. If the latter two appearances are him, however, and no other candidates present themselves, he seems at the end of his career to have been moved out to Cerdanya, and was possibly overseeing Sant Joan's interests in the Cerdanya/Besalú border area where they had a small nexus of property. For parallels from elsewhere in Catalonia, see P. Freedman, The Diocese of Vic: tradition and regeneration in medieval Catalonia (New Brunswick 1983), online at <http://libro.uca.edu/vic/vic.htm>, last modified 16th August 2000 as of 23rd July 2005, pp. 21-24.

²⁵¹ In the Vall de Sant Joan, Centullo and Isla de Longovard have already been mentioned (see pp. 88 & 108 above); Franchones is another possibility, and Miralles is in one other case elsewhere explained as a name derived from Miró (Condal 73). In that case, near Muntarn in Cerdanya, Emma's brother is to blame, but in the two-person settlement in the Vall de Sant Joan this seems less likely. On *Arigo* see pp.

their pioneering.²⁵²

At lower levels, too, such opportunities may have been available. As we have seen, it is difficult to link many of the names in the Vall de Sant Joan hearing certainly with those of influence across the Serra or indeed elsewhere in Catalonia, but this is not so clearly the case with some of the new arrivals, and where Reinoard's clear la Vinya de Vallfogona focus did not prevent him from appearing at the head of the similarly-named settlement in the Vall de Sant Joan, we ought not to find it too implausible that others from the south also took up a tenure from the monastery. Such may perhaps be seen in the persons of Radulf, seen as a witness in Vallfogona in several charters but quite possibly to be identified as the new arrival "*Randulfo*" in the 913 document;²⁵³ of Estabiles, a Villaplanes inhabitant who seems also to appear as a witness in Vallfogona later on;²⁵⁴ and Noven, a later landholder in la Vinya de Vallfogona who seems also to have arrived in the Vall de Sant Joan between the initial hearing and the final redaction of the document.²⁵⁵ One of these possible settlers we can say more about, for as said above one of the extra names added to the document is Galí,²⁵⁶ who may probably be identified with the brother of Guimarà son of Grima, and who was in his time the most visible landholder in

86-91 above, and on Franchoneiga pp. 141-142 below.

²⁵² Cf. the inducements offered to settlers by Marquis Borrell II in Cardona 7. We may also note that the name of one of the villages mentioned only in Cat. Car. IV 120, "*villare de Berione*", suggests foundation by a woman, Bero. Such a woman is to be found married to one Desiderí (seen in Cat. Car. IV 119 (by this argument) & Condal 21, 24, 44, 60, 62, 99, 109 & possibly 124) and with him among the earliest donors in la Vinya de Vallfogona, in which case it is possible that her husband is to be identified with one of the late signers of the oath document. She is seen in Cat. Car. IV 120 (by this argument) & Condal 24, 44 & 60.

²⁵³ Radulf seen in (by this argument) Cat. Car. IV 119 as well as Condal 84, 101, 110, 133 & 134.

²⁵⁴ He appears in Cat. Car. IV 119 (again, by this argument), Condal 64 & perhaps Condal 77 ("*Estavolo*").

²⁵⁵ Cat. Car. IV 119 & Condal 84 & 99.

²⁵⁶ N. 105 above.

Arigo after Sant Joan.²⁵⁷ None of these equations are certain, though I have picked on those with unusual names. Nonetheless, I think there is sufficient here, along with Esclúa and Reinoard, to show both that the Vall de Sant Joan was being settled by inducement as well by the sort of transplantation its inhabitants' oath suggested.²⁵⁸

There is one other form of service to the community of Sant Joan which should not be forgotten. Though not a route open to many, perhaps, we do have two oblations of girls to the nunnery from Emma's time,²⁵⁹ and some nuns may have had local origins: Elo, whom we do not see until Emma's death, certainly did,²⁶⁰ and there seems no reason why she should have been the only one. Likewise we should remember Sant Joan's male inhabitants, its priests and canons, many of whom seem to have amassed considerable lands: some of these lands had come from parents, and though nothing survives indicating that these parents included people in Vallfogona, it is hard to see why the area should have been excluded from clerical recruitment.²⁶¹ In any of these ways one might find one's career, livelihood or salvation on the backing and support of Sant Joan.

²⁵⁷ Galí son of Grima otherwise appears in Condal 37, 68, 69, 110 & 116.

²⁵⁸ See the quote from it at p. 97 above.

²⁵⁹ Condal 12 & San Juan 149; there are four more rather later (Condal 132 (of the comital family daughter Enquília), Comtal 81 (of a girl named Emma) & San Juan 259 & 285 (the latter of the later Abbess Ingilberga).

²⁶⁰ This woman was the daughter of one Asner (probably also seen in Condal 105, 126, 127 & 140), who gave her land even once she was a member of the community, she going on to buy land herself and as mentioned above, persist in holding land associated with the nunnery even after its dissolution. For her occurrences see n. 27 above.

²⁶¹ The most obvious example is the priest Malanaico (see n. 84 above), who gave "... *omnem hereditatem meam qui mihi advenit de parentorum...*", which lay at Espinosa in Berguedà, in a donation *causa mortis* in 927 (Condal 87), but there are others: in Condal 121 the priest Trasemir, also seen acting for the monastery in Condal 73 & 107, refers to one piece of land he gives as an "*ereditas*", though this was in Llaés, as was that "*de parentorum meorum*" given by the deacon Elderic in Condal 137.

Variation of response: the family of Placià

The different ways in which one might choose to be affected by the monastery are showcased by what can be seen the family of Placià.²⁶² This group is set forth at its fullest in his sale of 914,²⁶³ in which he appeared with his new wife Tòrtora, and the children of his previous one, Guimarà (leading), Gomesind, Fermí, Atilà, Froilà, Usilà and Aió (“*femina*”). Of these men (and the one woman) we can trace a few further appearances.

Guimarà we have already studied. Despite a rise to *bonus homo* status, I do not think we can equate his brother Froilà with the man of that name who appeared as such in the Vall de Sant Joan hearing,²⁶⁴ given Guimarà’s absence from it and his apparent pre-eminence in the family. Atilà at least we do not seem to see again. Fermí does not occur again in the Sant Joan documents, but his name is sufficiently rare (there are three occurrences of it in the entire Carolingian-period corpus for Osona and Manresa,²⁶⁵ of which these two family gatherings are two) that we may perhaps legitimately suspect that we see him in a 919 sale to Bishop Jordi of Osona in Costa d’Avancó, in Seva some way to the south of Vic, in which case he had married a wife by the name Eldoïga, and perhaps as a result moved out to the south.²⁶⁶ A similar possibility is offered by Gomesind, who, again with an uncommon name,²⁶⁷ may be the man so-called

²⁶² See pp. 126-129 above.

²⁶³ Condal 46.

²⁶⁴ In both Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120, and apparently also in Condal 35 where he **does** appear alongside Guimarà.

²⁶⁵ R. Ginebra & R. Ordeig, “Índex alfabètic de noms” in Ordeig, *Catalunya Carolíngia IV* Pt. 3, pp. 1355-1563 at p. 1432.

²⁶⁶ Vic 85.

²⁶⁷ Not quite so rare as his brother however; there are 11 occurrences listed in Ginebra & Ordeig, “Índex”, p. 1448.

who occurs in the 908 will of Bishop Idalguer of Osona, where he was, with a number of other people who seem to have been retainers, given a ploughing ox.²⁶⁸ Quite where this left him is unclear, and it seems possible that he may therefore have sought an alternative patron in the monastery back at home, as two people of this name occur in the Vall de Sant Joan hearing, and of them one is in that ambiguous group of new settlers who were added later. His siblings Usilà and Aió may have made similar choices. The latter, again with a rare name,²⁶⁹ may be the woman of this name occurring in Clerano in the Vall de Sant Joan, and Usilà, while he probably appears in la Vinya as witness on two subsequent occasions,²⁷⁰ may also be the man who swore with the villagers from Genebrosa in 913.²⁷¹ Different members of a family, perhaps facing the insufficiency of their joint inheritance given the long life of their father and his diminishment of that land by sales to Abbess Emma, might seek patronage both far afield and at home, and in the case of Guimarà, and to a lesser extent Gomesind, such a strategy might go astray and need revising.

Choices of patronage

By this reckoning at least, Sant Joan's patronage was not the only resort for the locally ambitious. The relatively humble might perhaps consider taking service with a local man, as we seem to see with the two men who witnessed only for Eldoard. Other patrons were also available. Emma's mandatory Esclúa, for example, having apparently established himself in the Vall de Sant Joan in

²⁶⁸ Vic 41: "... iumentum falavum."

²⁶⁹ 16 occurrences in Ginebra & Ordeig, "Index", pp. 1365-1366 *sub* "Ago" & "Aio" and declensions thereof.

²⁷⁰ Condal 51 & 61. Usilà only occurs in the second of the family gatherings, Condal 46; he may therefore have been the youngest, either not born or at least not of age in 905.

Emma's service, appears in his later years almost exclusively in Cerdanya.²⁷² Since we only see this through the monastery's interests there, it is easy to suggest that he had come to this by their influence, but his last appearance is a grant to the monastery of land he had in the locality of Castellar de Nuch, from his mother Baielo and none other than the *bonus homo* Madeix,²⁷³ in the neighbourhood of whose eponymous castle some of the land lay.²⁷⁴ It may be stretching the terms of the charter too far to suggest that Baielo had taken Madeix as a second husband, though her implied status might then partly explain Esclúa's, but that there was a connection between this erstwhile Cerdanya notable and Emma's servant appears indisputable, whence we must allow that Esclúa's later Cerdanya landholding may have had more to do with Madeix and his mother than Emma. This possible lay connection we can see, but there must be many more that we do not.

For those of ambition, there were still other options. Two of the brothers of Guimarà may have, as said, dealt with the bishop of Osona. Another instance of this later on is one Argemir, who appears twice in Vallfogona as a witness to major grants,²⁷⁵ but also three times in consecrations by Bishop Ató of Osona. In these he was apparently part of the bishop's retinue, except at Sora, where he was one of those who had raised the church, suggesting that he was local to the parish. He also appears once as a neighbour to a sale to Marquis Borrell, which

²⁷¹ Cat. Car. IV 119.

²⁷² His appearances are given in n. 108 above.

²⁷³ See pp. 118-119 & n. 180 above.

²⁷⁴ Condal 113.

²⁷⁵ Condal 112 & 124.

allows us to place him also in les Tenes.²⁷⁶ This, on the very edge of Vallfogona, in a village where the see of Vic had its own landed interests, means that it is not surprising to see competing patronage here, but it is informative that such a man was one some would appeal to from inside Vallfogona when they needed witnesses.

While on the subject of alternative ecclesiastical power-bases to Sant Joan, we should remember the presence of Santa Maria. Although, as has been emphasised, the two houses appear to have kept a fairly clear separation between their spheres of interest on the ground,²⁷⁷ it is obvious that a person who chose to could cross between them by means of service or simply concentrating on the other house's patronage. One who may have done so is the unwilling pledger to Guimarà's wife, Francholino. He appears in several of Sant Joan's documents,²⁷⁸ usually associated with the now-lost settlement of *Franchoneiga*, which seems to have lain near Coll de Canes. The homonymy of the man's and the settlement's name may indicate some relation; as his appears to be a diminutive, perhaps he was the son of Franco whose "*Aiaka*" (whatever that may be) the settlement appears to have been.²⁷⁹ In 906 Francholino appears as a neighbour there,²⁸⁰ and thereafter as a *bonus homo* in the earlier 913 hearing.²⁸¹ Whatever his status was, however, it did not befit him to be called upon by Sant Joan later that year for the hearing against Count Miró. His next appearance (or rather, not) is the peculiar one where he failed to account for

²⁷⁶ The consecrations are Condal 147-149, Sora being the last, and the les Tenes sale is Vic 478.

²⁷⁷ See n. 7 above.

²⁷⁸ To wit, Condal 19, 35, 53 & 55.

²⁷⁹ Condal 19: "... villare que vocant Francone Aiaka."

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Bonita's tenure of the land which Guimarà failed to defend for her in 918.²⁸²

Whether we interpret this document as meaning that Bonita held the land by reason of a pledge that Francholino had failed to redeem, or that he failed to attend the hearing and confirm her right to it, this would seem to indicate that in some way things were not going well for him. He appears again the same year however, named as neighbour in Fagonella, to the north of Sant Joan on the very edge of the monastery's alod, in a position which almost certainly made him a neighbour of "the lands of the house of Saint John".²⁸³ Given this, we might wonder how he sustained his influence without apparently dealing with Sant Joan. The answer appears to be twofold. Firstly, and perhaps inevitably, we are not seeing the full spread of his influence in the Sant Joan documents. Fagonella was only one of several locations in which he held land; we do not know exactly where *Franchoneiga* was, but its other occurrences make it clear that it was in Vallfogona, which Fagonella was not, and at the eastern end, in that zone where both Eldoard and Guimarà held the substantial alod bordering on Coll de Canes.²⁸⁴ He also appears in two Ripoll documents concerned with land at Balbs, showing that he held land on three different sides of Sant Joan.²⁸⁵ The latter of these documents is moreover a donation not to Santa Maria, but to Sant Pere de Ripoll, the parish church of the Ripoll valley proper, a church, as the *registum* that is all that survives makes clear, staffed by

²⁸¹ Condal 35.

²⁸² Condal 53.

²⁸³ Condal 55: "... *sunt ipsas terras cultas vel incultas infra ipsa abbacia de domum sancti Iohannis et adfrontat ipsas terras de una parte in terra Francholino et de alias omnesque partes in ipsas terras de domum sancti Iohannis.*"

²⁸⁴ Condal 19, 53, 61 & 197: 61 makes it clear that it was on the river Vallfogona, and 197 makes an alod there more or less cross the valley, with a set of bounds that are becoming tediously familiar: see p. 147 below.

the monks of Santa Maria.²⁸⁶ He had looked elsewhere than Sant Joan for the care of his soul, and probably had done likewise for the assistance of his more worldly endeavours also.²⁸⁷ As him, perhaps many others; we must remember how much we cannot see.

The comital take-over

We have already seen that there was also one other class of alternative patron available, namely the secular arm of the comital family. Guimarà's sale to Sunyer is not the breach in a metaphorical dam by which Sant Joan kept the counts out, for their presence was already increasing. Indeed, given the 913 exception of comitally-held Caballera from Sant Joan's territory, it may never have been far away. Sunyer is as said seen holding land at nearby Ridaura,²⁸⁸ and when the group who partly held their land at Llaés from the Vicar Fedanç gave it to Sant Joan, some of them had to seek permission from Sunyer first.²⁸⁹ Evidence of more direct intervention comes in the form of the nomination of his niece Countess Adelaide to replace Sunyer's initial candidate for succession to Emma.

The appointment of Adelaide was a species of compromise, but Ranló, her successor, being an older second cousin twice removed of all the young counts and from a completely different branch of the family, may have carried

²⁸⁵ Cat. Car. IV 6 & 156.

²⁸⁶ Cat. Car. IV 156: "Fraculino hace donacion de tierras en Balps a la casa de Sn. Pedro fundada en el valle de Ripoll, en el Monasterio, *ad domum S. Petro fundata in valle Rivipulli cenobio*, y añade que los Abades y Monges que sirven en la casa de Sn. Pedro posean dichas tierras, así como les demas alodios que pertenecen a Sn. Pedro: *Abbatēs enim et Monachi servientes domum S. Petri presentes et futuri ita obtineant sicut ceteris alodibus S. Petro pertinentibus*".

²⁸⁷ Perhaps the two should not be separated: see Rosenwein, *Neighbor of Saint Peter*, pp. 125-143.

²⁸⁸ See n. 232 above.

²⁸⁹ Condal 121: the phrase "*per consensum domno Suniario comite*" occurs with respect to three pieces of

rather more respect in her new rôle. Nonetheless, it is clear enough that the world of the monastery had changed during the interregnum. In 955 we see Borrell II giving the deacon Miró, youngest of Count Miró's sons, future Count of Besalú and Bishop of Girona,²⁹⁰ land at two locations in Vallfogona which he had got from his father. One of these, at Coll de Canes, is familiar to us, being none other than the lands, more or less, that Guimarà had sold to Borrell's father,²⁹¹ but the other lands were at Tolosa, and also substantial; one boundary lay on the river Archamala, which had formed the western edge of Eldoard's gift at Coll de Canes, those very same lands of which Borrell was giving part to Miró in this same donation.²⁹² Since Tolosa is at the opposite end of the valley to Coll de Canes, this implies that at some point during the interregnum Sunyer had been able to lay hold of the rule of all of Vallfogona, and thus overlooked the monastery along the entirety of the southern edge of its alod.²⁹³ There are also other cases which show that the monastery had lost ground to the counts. In 960 Ranló is seen making an exchange with Count Sunifred of Cerdanya, the same who had seen Adelaide appointed, by which the nunnery gained a substantial alod in the Ripoll valley.²⁹⁴ Unfortunately for them this alod's

land, one of which (at "*ad ipso torrente*") had Emma as a neighbour.

²⁹⁰ On whom see J. M. Salrach i Marés, "El bisbe-comte Miró Bonfill i la seva obra de fundació i dotació de monestirs" in Fort, *II Col·loqui d'Història del Monaquisme Català*, II pp. 57-81, with English summary pp. 422-423.

²⁹¹ Condal 131: "*Et alio maso qui est ad collo de Cannas afrontat de una parte in ipso collo de Cannas, de alia inalode [sic] sancti Iohannis monasterii, de tercia in rio Fero, de quarta ascendit usque in serra sancti Iohannis monasterii*"; this may therefore only be part of the alod, and the river on the western boundary is named differently to that in the earlier donation (see pp. 122 & 130-131 above), but the areas concerned must at best overlap.

²⁹² *Ibid.*: "... *e latere uno in alode sancti Ioannis monasterii, de alia vero latus pervenit in ipsa Paradella, de tercio latere iungit in rio Arcemala, de quarta vero parte ascendit in ipsa serra sancti Iohannis monasterii.*"

²⁹³ Miró's later donations suggest that Borrell still retained Vallfogona property west of Tolosa: see Condal 157.

²⁹⁴ Condal 150.

bounds were the same on three sides as one given them in 938 by one Osseza as her entry-gift to the community.²⁹⁵ She admittedly gave only the fifth part of what lay in those bounds but it seems clear nonetheless that the two grants overlap, and we must conclude that the land had also been lost by Sant Joan during the intervening period and was now being returned with extra, albeit at a cost.

Both sets of comital cousins had therefore reduced the monastery's endowment somewhat, but in Vallfogona this had been an almost total take-over, by means partly unseen, on the part of the counts of Barcelona. This is no less surprising than Borrell's almost immediate disposal of these lands into the hands of the deacon Miró, brother of the counts of Besalú-Cerdanya and eventually Count of Besalú himself. Miró's and Borrell's relations would be the subject of a paper by itself,²⁹⁶ but Miró was a good friend to Sant Joan. We do not see him give them their old lands at Coll de Canes back, at least not directly, but in 959 he did give that alod at Tolosa which Borrell had given him in 955, along with another alod at Solarza in Besalú which had come to him from his now-dead brother Count Guifré,²⁹⁷ and another alod in 962 at the unidentified *ipsa Foreste* which seems to have lain to the south-west of Tolosa; this, also, had come from Borrell, this time by purchase.²⁹⁸ There were once also three charters which dealt with donations by him of some size at Caballera, including finally

²⁹⁵ Condal 112.

²⁹⁶ Compare J. M. Salrach i Marés, "El comte Guifré I de Besalú i la revolta de 957: contribució a l'estudi de la noblesa catalana del segle X" in *Amics de Besalú i el seu Comtat, II Assembla d'Estudis sobre el Comtat de Besalú* (Olot 1973), pp. 3-36, at pp. 24-27, with R. Martí, "Delà, Cesari i Ató, primers arquebisbes dels comptes-prínceps de Barcelona (951-953/981)" in *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* Vol. 67 (Tarragona 1994), pp. 369-386 at pp. 379-380.

²⁹⁷ Condal 144.

²⁹⁸ Condal 157.

the village itself.²⁹⁹

Comital men

Of course this land had inhabitants. The Counts' ownership of it did not imply that they were the sole landowners in Vallfogona, as we can see from the donations and sales that continued inside this area.³⁰⁰ There were islets of independent propriety in the areas the counts transferred, but there were also dependants on the lands concerned directly. As usual, with a single exception we cannot see these people in our record. The exception is a donation to Sant Joan by a deacon Elderic,³⁰¹ who was the builder of the church which Ranló consecrated at Sora in 960.³⁰² The donation gives the names of the man who held the manses which he gave the monastery.³⁰³ But there was tenancy, and there was service; while the latter is a difficult idea to define, we can see people who turn up with the counts, and while it seems that in our period the counts did not have a retinue so much as local followers who turn up in our sources when the counts entered their area,³⁰⁴ it is not sufficient to consider the status of these men simply as tenants; the situation was more complex than that.

We can see two of these men in Vallfogona, at least, and there were probably more at all stages. The easiest to pigeonhole is one Florenci, who appears in our area only with the Counts of Besalú, first Miró and then Oliba

²⁹⁹ San Juan 235 (of which Abbot Isalguer remarked, "*quod sit magnum alodium abentis confrontacionibus*"), 238 & 261.

³⁰⁰ See n. 315 below.

³⁰¹ Condal 137.

³⁰² Condal 149; he also witnesses Condal 147 & 148.

³⁰³ A parallel case from later on (1011) is seen in Comtal 101, a donation by one of Sant Joan's own nuns of manses with named tenants.

³⁰⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 246-248 below.

Cabreta,³⁰⁵ but who is not seen anywhere else as far as I can determine.³⁰⁶ More complex, but a missing link in one of our running themes, is the case of Sendevad, who appears in five Sant Joan charters, in no case with one of the counts.³⁰⁷ We first see him selling land with his wife Seguinil la in *Arigo* (“*ad ipsa ecclesia*”) in 949, and then four months later giving land there to Sant Joan. His next appearance is as a witness in Coll de Canes in 956, and then again as witness at la Vinya in 976. Only with a last appearance in 982 does the reason for his status become clear: it is a donation to Sant Joan of an alod at *Franchoneiga* with extremely familiar bounds.³⁰⁸ Sendevad was in possession of the valley-spanning alod which Eldoard had given Sant Joan, which Guimarà had obtained and sold to Count-Marquis Sunyer, which Count Sunyer had bequeathed to Borrell II and which Borrell II had given to the deacon Miró of the house of Besalú. To complete the circle, Sendevad explained that he had bought the alod “from the lord Miró, count and deacon”.

This allows us to date the sale with slightly more precision, as by this time (984) Miró had been Bishop of Girona for fourteen years.³⁰⁹ That Sendevad refers to him as anything less suggests that the document is here reflecting the dignities Miró had at the time of sale, possibly because the scribe (one “*Iotor presbiter*”) was working from a charter of that sale which so named him. In this

³⁰⁵ In Condal 157 and Cat. Car. IV 1526 respectively.

³⁰⁶ Without access to Sobrequés *et al.*, *Catalunya Carolíngia V*, which I did not have when I submitted this thesis, such a conclusion can only be provisional, but he certainly does not appear elsewhere in Sant Joan’s documents.

³⁰⁷ Condal 126, 127, 134, 179 & 197.

³⁰⁸ Condal 197: “... *afrontat iamdictus alodes supra nominatus de parte orientis in ipsa stela et de meridie in ipsa Serra de Melagno et de occiduo in torrente de Archamala et de circii in serra de santo Iohanne*”.

³⁰⁹ See Salrach, “El bisbe-comte Miró”, pp. 65-68, though cf. Martí, “Delà, Cesari i Ató”, pp. 375, 378-380.

case, the window is between Miró's succession to the comital title in 965,³¹⁰ and his election to the bishopric of Girona in 971. Sendevad seems already to have been a man of status in Coll de Canes at this point, but he must also have been a man of considerable wealth to buy an alod which thirty years previously had been worth 100 *solidi*.³¹¹ Whether his status and wealth came from an association with the counts of Besalú, or whether his standing was entirely local, or based on his interaction with Sant Joan, he then only becoming the Count's man in 965X970 we cannot tell. Miró did not however dispose of this land direct to Sant Joan, who presumably were anxious for it back. Perhaps Miró sold it to Sendevad on condition that it be returned to its previous owners; perhaps they prevailed instead upon him direct. Perhaps most likely, Sendevad stood in sufficiently good stead with both Sant Joan and the family of Besalú that he was a man both sides were happy to see take over this substantial piece of territory. In him the interests of Sant Joan and the counts would then have run happily side by side.

There are, it must be pointed out, no more official positions of power in Vallfogona than this connection to either the monastery or the counts. There was no Vicar of Vallfogona, no castle in the term³¹² and though since 960 there had been a defined parish,³¹³ we have very little idea who its priest or priests

³¹⁰ Salrach, "El bisbe-comte Miró", pp. 59-61, though it seems that Miró had been effectively functioning as count for some years before this.

³¹¹ The area was at this time just beginning to hit inflation in prices, a phenomenon seen all over Catalonia but earliest of all in these frontier lands. See Bonnassie, *Catalogne*, I pp. 409-414.

³¹² The castle of Milany however overlooked it from the south: see J. Bolòs i Masclans, A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà & A. de Fluvià i Escorsa, "Castell de Milany" in Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica X*, pp. 450-459.

³¹³ Set out as a black dotted line in Map 2 on the basis of Condal 148.

were because they form part of the monastery's footprint first and foremost.³¹⁴

Although the counts had gained a considerable foothold, Vallfogona did not become a zone of templated 'public' jurisdiction. The area's arrangements of such matters were still unofficial, informal and clearly to a large extent still contingent on the will of the abbess across the ridge.

The two edges of comital patronage

Comital involvement in the area was not all-swamping. Donations and sales from the orders of society below the counts had not stopped,³¹⁵ but the abbesses now dealt regularly with the counts in a way which Emma had not. The Besalú family monastery of Sant Pere de Camprodon was raised on lands which had been got from Sant Joan in an exchange made in 964 by Sunifred of Cerdanya, Oliba Cabreta of Besalú and the deacon Miró with Abbess Fredeburga;³¹⁶ Ranló had brokered another exchange with Sunifred, as said, to get lost lands back in 960;³¹⁷ and Count Oliba Cabreta may also have favoured the monastery with several donations.³¹⁸ Emma's period had known nothing like this close an interaction with the comital family, except in as much as she was effective countess of the valley. The succeeding abbesses however did not

³¹⁴ Sant Julià was however attracting donations in its own right, as witness Condal 151; on the other hand, so did Sant Pere de Ripoll but this did not prevent it being run by the monks of Santa Maria. See n. 286 above.

³¹⁵ Donations not by the counts from the time of Adelaide, Ranló and Fredeburga: Condal 122, 125, 127, 133, 134, 137, 141, 153, 155, 156, 160 & 180. Sales to the abbesses or nuns or monastery from the same time: Condal 135 & 136 only, both to Ranló, but consider also the sales to the priest Petrón discussed at p. 85 and n. 51 above.

³¹⁶ Condal 162 & 163 & Ordeig, "Ató", ap. 26; see Salrach, "El bisbe-comte Miró", pp. 63-64 & 80, and J. Vigué i Viñas, A. Pladevall i Font, X. Barral i Altet & N. Peiris i Pujolar, "Sant Pere de Camprodon" in Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica X*, pp. 85-95 at pp. 85-87.

³¹⁷ Condal 150.

³¹⁸ Condal 165 & San Juan 251, which are related and from the look of the surviving text extremely dubious, and San Juan 285 (the oblation of Ingilberga) & Oliba 71, both of which have also been questioned.

have so defended an environment in which to make the terms of their immunity mean something.

The surrounds of the monastery were being ever more closely pressed. The erection of the monastery of Camprodon on what had been only a parish church,³¹⁹ and its endowment with Sant Joan land, even if Sant Joan had been amply compensated, placed another centre of comital patronage, safely in the counts' own territories, right next door. The interests of the two houses were at best interlocking and at worst directly competitive: the new monastery's parish included the term of Segúries, site of a prolonged campaign of acquisition by Emma,³²⁰ and Sant Joan must have maintained its interests there for when the church of Sant Pau de Segúries, which had been given to Sant Joan in 926,³²¹ was elevated to parish status itself in 1150, the parish was allocated not to Sant Pere de Camprodon but to Sant Joan.³²² The area immediately to the east of the Vall de Sant Joan must have been an uncomfortable buffer zone, however much Miró's and possibly Oliba's widespread patronage helped to ease this discomfort.³²³

Similar pressures became apparent, if they were not already, at the east of Vallfogona in 985, when Oliba Cabreta enlisted the aid of Bishop Sal·la of Urgell in the consecration of another church there, Sant Cristòfor.³²⁴ From the

³¹⁹ We have the church's consecration act, from 904, best edited by H. Omont as *Diplômes VI*.

³²⁰ See n. 133 above. The term was part of the parish of the church prior to its monastic upgrade, as its act of consecration made clear (see above).

³²¹ San Juan 149.

³²² A. Pladevall i Font, M. Lluïsa Cases & J. Vigué i Viñas, "Esglésies del Ripollès anteriors al 1300", in Pladevall, *Catalunya Romànica X*, pp. 39-41 at pp. 40-41.

³²³ Miró founded three houses in addition to his involvement at Camprodon, and Sant Joan was only one of eight other houses which received gifts from him: Salrach indexes his patronage in "El bisbe-comte Miró", pp. 73-81.

³²⁴ Consagracions 41.

look of the parish allotted to it, Sant Cristòfor lay beyond Coll de Canes, where Sant Joan seems never to have had much involvement; on the other hand, comital Ridaura lay near here, and perhaps like Caballera it had always been the counts'. Certainly the church was raised on Oliba's own alod, shared with his wife Ermengarda, and significantly perhaps at the head of the parishioners and alone among them in signing with the count, was a man bearing the title of "*miles*", one Fruià who had with four other named men and the count requested the consecration. In other words, just beyond the monastery's immediate area, secular arrangements were rather more clearly marked out in a military and comital fashion. This jurisdictional template was now encroaching on Sant Joan, as besides the tithe, first-fruits and offerings of its own parish and those of Felgars, which its parish overlooked, Sant Cristòfor was also accorded by Bishop Sal·la half the tithe of Vallfogona, though it was to receive its chrism from Sant Julià whose prior position was thus in some way recognised. It is significant perhaps that it was Bishop Sal·la overseeing this annexation of part of Sant Joan's sphere of influence, as Vallfogona lay properly in the remit of Bishop Fruià of Osona, and even if the part further east had lain beyond that bishopric, which from the look of the bounds set by Pope Benedict VII in 978 it did not,³²⁵ that would have placed it not in the bishopric of Urgell but in that of Girona. There however Count-Bishop Miró had recently died and Bishop Godmar II may not yet have succeeded. The area was apparently one in which such schematic descriptions of rights came a poor second to the count's say-so.

From ecclesiastical snipping at the Sant Joan patrimony the counts of

³²⁵ Vic 445.

Besalú would move up to full-scale secular dominion. This was most obviously seen in the eventual dissolution of the nunnery at papal order in 1017, when the bishop who would unite Sant Joan's patrimony with that of two other houses to found his ephemeral see was the son of the incumbent count,³²⁶ but it was already foreshadowed in the appearance of Oliba Cabreta's son, also named Oliba, as Count of Ripoll from 990 until his monastic conversion in around 1003. As a monk and later abbot of Ripoll, Bishop of Osona and Abbot of Sant Miquel de Cuixà and Santa Maria de Montserrat, Oliba has become a darling of Catalan historiography but despite his otherwise unimpeachable record he was one of the people who convinced Pope Benedict VIII to dissolve the nunnery in 1017.³²⁷ The Ripollès's exact comital status had long been ambiguous as we have seen, lying between Urgell, Besalú and Osona, and Oliba's county included the similarly-ambiguous *pagus* of Berguedà,³²⁸ but in the case of the Ripollès part of the reason for that ambiguity had always been the presence of two large monasteries in the area, both equipped with royal immunities and in Sant Joan's case a set of defined comital rights fixed since 913.³²⁹ Santa Maria had even had its immunity renewed in 982 by King Lothar III, and comital family control was only achieved by Oliba's joining the community.³³⁰ Sant Joan however was less able to manage without, or fend off, the counts. The Besalú

³²⁶ See p. 78 above.

³²⁷ Abadal, "L'abat Oliba", pp. 165-172 & 190-196, where Abadal paints Oliba's involvement in the 1017 episode in as moral a colour as it can be construed.

³²⁸ On which see J. Camprubí i Sensada, "La indivisibilitat del bloc comtal Cerdano-Berguedà en època d'Oliba (Cabreta) i dels seus fills (finals del segle X inici de l'XI)" in Ollich, Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac, pp. 151-161.

³²⁹ Sant Joan's royal immunity Condal 11; the comital rights of course in Cat. Car. IV 119 & 120. Santa Maria's first royal immunity in Cat. Car. II Ripoll I; a grant of a franchise by Borrell II in Cat. Car. IV IX is obviously forged (see Ordeig, Catalunya Carolíngia IV Pt. 1, p. 49) but may reflect an earlier grant of some such rights.

³³⁰ Cat. Car. II Ripoll II. I do not mean by this to suggest that Oliba's conversion was anything less than

family was deeply engaged in its territory, and the house benefited considerably from the counts' patronage; but as the nuns were to learn in 1017, this could be a two-edged sword.

Conclusion: society and Sant Joan

From in-depth analysis of the ties of the community in Vallfogona and the Vall de Sant Joan in the time of Emma, we thus find ourselves in the time of Ingilberga focused on the activity of the counts. This is partly because the thicker evidence of the earlier period has allowed us to gather already many of the methods of interaction with the monastery and its impact on the community; the options open to the population of the area are best exposed in that early corpus. It is also because the thinner evidence of the later period does not permit such chains of links to be so easily made. It is not that we do not still have people who appear in document after document: apart from the priest Petró, we might highlight a man who appears to have witnessed three transactions at the monastery between 961 and 976, one Vives, or a Vallfogona landholder by the name of Sunifred who appears four times between 962 and 981.³³¹ These are however our two most prolifically-appearing persons, and when most of our significant people in the area besides the counts appear only twice in the monastery's documents, it is hard to say anything in detail about their exact status.

Sunifred typifies the problem: though we should not know it from the Sant Joan documents, a charter from the border zone of les Tenes, preserved at

genuine; nonetheless, his attainment of the abbacy there certainly achieved this end for his family.

³³¹ Petró: see n. 51 above. Vives: Condal 154, 162 & 180. Sunifred: Condal 156, 172, 179 & 191.

the cathedral of Vic, shows him as a Vicar,³³² and thus he is recorded as a minor noble whose interests must have lain further afield than Vallfogona, even though he held some land there and seems to have fairly frequently been there. The people we now see in Vallfogona are powerful outsiders, not small-scale pioneers, and we can say consequently less about them even without the thinning of the material. This is also critical though: when we have 147 documents for Emma,³³³ but only five which mention Ingilberga, of which one is a record of her oblation, one the papal Bull calling her and her nuns whores and parricides and one her will after she had lost her abbacy,³³⁴ our ability to document her strategy of rule is obviously rather less than it is for her illustrious predecessor.

Despite this, the development of the monastery and its status with respect to the outside world seems to mirror the choices we have seen made by the people it affected. As it impinged on them, so did the counts come to do on it. The church existed before comital authority arrived in force, like many of the tenures into which its lands were initially slotted. Emma's defences of her position against Miró and Sunyer compare to the probable *Scheinprozess* with Tudiscle and the dispute with Guimarà. Thereafter, just as her aggressive purchases had made many landholders a 'neighbour of Saint John' and thus to come to a position with respect to the monastery, the house under Ranló and

³³² Vic 504.

³³³ In total: Barca 7, Condes pp. 88-90, Cat. Car. IV 35, 69, 75, 119, 120, 192, 346, 419, probably 441, 645 & X, Condal 3, 4, 10-12, 16, 18-20, 23, 24, 26-29, 31-37, 39-41, 43-46, 48, 53, 55, 56, 59-62, 64, 66-68, 71-73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 83, 85, 87, 95-97, 101-103, 107, 109-111, 113-115, 117, 118, 120, 121 & 128, San Juan 16, 17, 29, 39, 40, 47, 50-53, 56-58, 61, 68, 69, 83-88, 98-101, 103-109, 114-117, 121, 127, 131, 132, 145, 146, 151-153, 155, 156, 165, 170, 179, 184-186, 188, 189, 193, 194, 199, 200, 202 & 268 & Vic 55, 114, 117 & 166.

³³⁴ Comtal 14 & 99, Oliba 49, San Juan 285 & J. Danès i Torras, "Documents Comunicats" in *Analecta*

Fredeburga was forced to adapt to a world in which the counts were close by and, whilst giving with one hand, took with another (if we may so characterise Miró and Oliba Cabreta). Finally, like the settlers in the Vall de Sant Joan, came the loss of independence and the appearance in our record only where the ex-nuns were sufficiently well-off to turn up in areas outside the "*terra de domum sancti Iohannis*".

This is the third reason why our focus has had to be early: where Sant Joan was able to achieve complete dominion, our record shortly ceases. It was the edges of this zone, the edges of the organised polity which Emma's family ruled itself at the earliest stages of our record, where the sort of tensions and interactions that demanded a record were caused.

